

LATE XVTH CENTURY
FRENCH HISTORIOGRAPHY, AS EXEMPLIFIED
IN THE COMPENDIUM OF ROBERT GAGUIN
AND THE DE REBUS GESTIS OF
PAULUS AEMILIUS.

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I

INTRODUCTION

French historiography at the end of the XVth century, like most other manifestations of men's minds and consciences in this period, had worn out its older traditions, beliefs and methods. At the same time the new Humanist theories of historiography as well as of other branches of learning and literature were beginning to penetrate into France from Italy. To what extent did this introduction effect a revolution or modification in the development of French historiography?

It is proposed to consider this question in the light of two books, the Compendium of Robert Gaguin and the De Rebus Gestis of Paulus Aemilius of Verona,¹ written at almost the same time and covering almost the same ground, that is, the history of France from the invasion of the Franks down to the contemporary period. Moreover, the authors supposed themselves to be writing in the same spirit and in accordance with the same

1 The two books have in effect the same name; each is a Compilation of the Deeds of the French. The abbreviated forms are adopted purely for convenience in citation, and have no intrinsic significance.

principles. In fact however they were representatives of the two different traditions, though at the outer edge of each where the distinction becomes blurred. They stood at the point where these traditions met and intermingled; and the respects in which they were similar or dissimilar give some indication of what happened to French historiography at this stage of its development.

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1. Memoirs and Chronicles before the XVth Century.

A. Memoirs. Usage tends to confuse the term Memoirs with autobiography, which is properly a subdivision of it. It is here employed in the sense of the ancient Memorabilia, things worthy to be recalled, in fact something like what used to be called History of Our Own Times. These may be set down day by day and year by year as they occur, or more elaborately arranged after the event; the author may feature to any degree, from not at all, through less or more references, to the point where his own adventures, whether related in the first or the third person, form the substance of the narrative. But the fundamental character of the group remains the same, that of a record set down by contemporaries or near-contemporaries of the most important and interesting events which either came under their own notice or they had heard from eye-witnesses or a relatively direct tradition.

Thus we get a typical series like that formed by Froissart, Monstrelet and Matthieu d'Escouchy, each taking up from where his predecessor breaks off, and stating this as his intention. Naturally, in covering more than a century, the elements do not remain identical; they mirror not only an external world changing in circumstances, attitudes and feelings, but also a change in the conception of historiography.

Froissart is still in the tradition of the mediaeval jongleur, to whom the truth or historical importance of his story is of slight concern, if indeed it occurred to his mind at all. Where a difference is perceptible it is less in respect of what facts should be included in history than of what constituted a fact at all. By the late XIVth century the unseen, though still looming large and close, no longer filled virtually the whole universe. For the Minstrel of Rheims and his audience the fantastic was the familiar; in Froissart tales such as those of the goblin Harton¹ or the man haunted by the bear which he has killed²

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1 Chroniques, Bk. 3, chap. VI, ed. Simeon Luce, Gaston Raynaud and Leon Mirot (SHF, 12 vols. Paris 1869-1931), vol. XII, pp. 172-80.

2 Ibid. chap. IV, pp. 89-93.

are relegated from positive statement of fact to the status of hearsay. But Froissart is less extravagant only because he is writing in the main of contemporary events in regions more or less known to himself and his readers, not from any theoretic conviction that the extravagant in itself was unsuitable for inclusion in history. In fact it is basic to this conception of his historiography that really nothing is unsuitable for inclusion, nothing, that is, which has come within the scope of the author's own knowledge, and above all which will constitute a good story.

Things were different when Monstrelet took up the tale in the next century. Questions of truth and falsehood had been brought sharply to the attention of the people of the XVth century by the national and faction controversies. It was impossible, even for minds basically still mediaeval, to believe that both versions of events were true because both were set down in black and white. An author if peculiarly timid or scrupulous or perplexed could give variants for any peculiarly unusually critical or dubious incident: "I have heard... But others say..." But to carry out this system logically and fully, he would have had to write a whole separate book for each point of view, a Burgundian and an Armagnac account of the civil wars, an English and a French/ account of the Hundred

Years' War. He could introduce modifications; but basically he had to tell the story one way or the other.

This being so, he had to offer some justification for his choice; and this could be found only in a show at least of weighing, comparing and selecting sources. It need hardly be emphasised what a revolution was thus implied. The mediaeval method of conflation of sources began to be replaced by an effort at rationalised combination. The revolution was not conscious, and it was far from complete. But it was the first stage in something fundamental to the later more scientific view of history.

In addition to this, by the middle of the XVth century there had been a marked increase in national consciousness and hardening of national frontiers. Froissart was still a genuine cosmopolitan, with no national preoccupations. His interest centred on whatever district he was temporarily settled in, as he could thus best repay what he owed to the patrons supporting him at the moment. Some of the bewildering variations between the versions of his chronicles are explained by their having been drafted while he was in the service of those of English or French sympathies. Apart from this, he was simply concerned to hear of all possible "feats of arms", wherever performed; and he is

genuinely impartial in the praise or blame which he accords to the knights on the different sides. Such predominance as the affairs of England and France have in the book is due only to the contemporary wars being full of the drama which he enjoyed, and to his being better placed to obtain information from English, French and Flemish sources than from those of any other country.

By the middle of the XVth century too much had passed for Monstrelet to treat all Europe on the same footing as a single entity, recognising distinctions only of caste, not of country. This was the case notwithstanding that he deliberately composed his book in accordance with the old-fashioned formula. Particularly at the beginning, he writes as if it were a universal chronicle, not the annals of a particular country. But after the first decade of the century this gradually disappears. He continues to give scattered notices of the Church, the Turk, and the internal history of England, and devotes excessive space to the domestic detail of Burgundy. But with these minor exceptions the book becomes in substance though not in form a regular history of France, and so remains to the end.

The third in the series, Matthieu d'Escouchy, carries the process a stage further. There is no longer even a show of ~~indivisible~~ universality. The book is throughout a straightforward history of France (including Burgundy), and is compact, orderly and relevant. There are none of Froissart's monstrous digressions or even Monstrelet's prolixities. D'Escouchy has made a beginning of weighing not only the truth but the relative importance of his material. By the defect common to both mediaeval and Humanist historians, he confines himself too exclusively to military and political events; but within the limitations of what was then regarded as the fit matter for history, his choice and arrangement are rational and well-judged.

There is another indication of changing technique. Froissart copied from Jean le Bel for the first part of his work; but on coming down to his own time he seems to have confined himself to verbal sources. Monstrelet consulted documents and includes them verbatim, but there is no trace of his having drawn on narrative histories. D'Escouchy on the other hand, his direct personal information tending to be Burgundian, bases himself for even contemporary affairs in France on the

official version of the Great Chronicles of France compiled by Jean Chartier¹, while expanding them from what he himself had known or heard, in the more traditional spirit of the chronicler.²

This altered handling of the subject, by which the material has to some extent been already sorted instead of arriving haphazard, at any moment, in any order, from sources whose reliability it was impossible to assess, may have had some part in the improvement in balance and proportion, for d'Escouchy is not in himself a historian of major stature. He is however honest, sensible and competent, and in addition very moderate and as nearly impartial as it was possible for a historian to be in the late XVth century.

His chronicle ends with the death of Charles VII in 1463, and the series was not resumed in quite the same shape. As centralised national states crystallised, historical forms also defined themselves more precisely, and ~~xxx~~ chronicles tended to become either more or less general, that is, to divide on the one hand into the

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1 On the Great Chronicles in general, v. pp. 19-65, and on Chartier in particular, pp. 47-55.

2 Chronique, chap. XCII, ed. du Fresne de Beaucourt (3 vols. Paris 1863-4), vol. II, pp. 42-3, for the details on the death of Talbot, which seem not to occur elsewhere.

official histories of the French and Burgundian houses, and on the other into the personal memoirs whose scope shrinks from Commynes to the du Bellays and from the du Bellays to Monluc. Yet there were still examples of the style in a somewhat altered form throughout the XVIth century.

These memoirs might be official, semi-official, or unofficial. (i) Official. At least as early as the Carolingian epoch the custom seems to have been established that annals should be recorded in some monastery as an official function under royal patronage. This tradition, interrupted in the chaos accompanying the break-up of the Carolingian empire, was resumed, possibly by the XIIth century, certainly by the XIIIth, in the connection between the abbey of Saint-Denis and the historiographer to the French crown. It was however in an altered and more sophisticated form; and probably only certain portions in the XIVth and XVth centuries were in fact composed year by year as they stand, although the other completed biographies were doubtless in some measure dependent upon notes taken at the time.

These completed biographies, more polished but less authentic, had an even earlier origin. The Gesta Dagoberti may not have been written immediately after the death of its hero; the [^]probable derivation from some lost chanson de geste or at least the modelling upon one, the accretion of fantastic traditions already established as to his childhood, connection

with Saint-Denis, and death, all suggest that long enough had passed for history to have transformed itself into legend. But the tone of unqualified glorification stamps it as belonging to the Merovingian epoch; the approval has become markedly less warm in the Carolingian Continuation of "Fredegarius". The life of Charlemagne by Einhard and of Louis the Pious by the anonymous author known as the Astronomer set a standard of more serious composition in this style; and although this also was interrupted by the civil wars and the Capetian revolution, no French king after Philippe I was without at least something in the nature of an official history of the reign.

(ii) Semi-official. These might be the accredited histories of some institution such as a monastery. The brief annals jotted down in the blank spaces of Easter Tables are said to have begun by the end of the VIIth century. More regular church chronicles seem to date from the IXth century. In Auxerre for more than five centuries it was customary on the death of a bishop to make a note of the date of his accession and death and the principal events of his administration; and similar Acta of bishops were drawn up for example in le Mans and

Cambrai.¹ These records by their nature were presumably made at the time. But as early as the middle of the Xth century Flodoard had written a retrospective history of the church of Rheims. These monastic and ecclesiastical annals, very numerous from the Xth to the XIIIth century², tended to disappear with the decline of a vital religious communal life.

These semi-official ~~xxxxxx~~ memoirs might also be the accredited histories of a princely family. The dukes of Burgundy of the Valois line are the most familiar and striking example of this aspiration of the great feudal houses to have their own official historiographers. The magnificent series of their XVth century annals was probably based on observations made from day to day, but seems in the main to have come down to us in a form which had been given greater finality. The most important of all, however, the chronicle of Chastellain, which unfortunately has survived only in fragments, bears marks of having been only imperfectly revised, unless indeed he wished to make it appear that he judged Louis^{XI} charitably

1 A. Molinier: Les Sources de l'histoire de France au moyen âge (6 vols. Paris 1901-6), vol. V, pp. lxxxii-lxxxiii.

2 Ibid. pp. lxxxii-lxxxv.

until his villainy was incontrovertibly proved,¹ which seems rather an elaborate deception for even so thorough a partisan.

(iii) Unofficial. No hard and fast line divided the biographies composed by the dependent of some noble from the semi-official biographies of the great houses. They were usually written all in a piece afterwards, although the anonymous biography of Marshal Boucicaut stops short in the lifetime of its hero, so must either have been in a gradual process of growth or have been ^{presented} published incomplete, on the not unreasonable assumption (which it is surprising others did not act upon more often) that the subject of eulogy himself would reward it more generously than his heirs, however much they might be inspired by filial piety.

Of biography properly speaking there was very little before the Renaissance. The biographies of kings do not tell us much about them as individuals, and tend to become histories of their reigns, in fact, as they are often accurately entitled, their "Deeds" (Gesta). Almost

1 V. the Proesme to Book 6, apparently written on the accession of Louis XI, which it hails as likely to put an end to the unfortunate and unnecessary misunderstanding between Charles VII and Philippe the Good: Chronique, in Oeuvres, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove (8 vols. Brussels 1863-6), vol. IV, pp. 5-6. In chap. XXX of the same Book he recants: Ibid. pp. 118-9.

the only examples in which the king as a person takes the front of the stage are those directly derived from lives of saints, such as Helgaud's life of Robert or the hagiographical sketches of Louis IX by Geoffroi de Beaulieu and Guillaume de Chartres. In these the emphasis is all centred on the Christian virtues of the king, and the object is avowedly edification when not actually advocacy of canonisation. Similarly, biographies of other people were seldom of any one except saints or churchmen. We learn more of the personalities of Mediaeval history from the general works of authors with an instinctive feeling for character and descriptive powers, such as Ordericus Vitalis and Froissart, than from set biographies.

The same applies to an even greater degree to autobiography. If people kept purely personal diaries in the earlier Middle Ages, they seem not to have survived. It is not until the XVth century that we get the first of a long and precious series with Nicholas de Baye, the anonymous Bourgeois de Paris, and Jean Maupoint. Still more scruple was felt at sitting down deliberately at the end of one's life to make a solemn record of one's own adventures, actions and feelings. The only justification for such a course was some spiritual experience which if conveyed to others might afford a profitable example,

whether as encouragement or warning. Augustine's Confessions were the recognised model for this, and were used as a framework even by those who in practice were writing something more like political memoirs.¹ Sometimes of course very solid slices of autobiography insinuate themselves into works which set out to have a much more general scope, either from the natural loquacity and innocent egoism of the writer, as in the case of Joinville,² or still more if he was suffering from a sense of grievance, like Thomas Basin.³ But this could, at least ostensibly, be done "by way of incident", as the mediaeval chronicler would have put it; the author did not incur the reproach of having set out to write about himself.

In some measure discouraged in this way by authoritative opinion, the biographical style tended to

1 V. Molinier: Sources, vol. V, p. C, on Guibert de Nogent's Monodiae de Vita sua.

2 Joinville's book was apparently first conceived as an account of his own adventures in the Holy Land, and only turned into a life of St. Louis when Jeanne of Navarre asked Joinville to write one. Hence the odd arrangement of the work, its incoherence and repetitions. V. Molinier: Sources, Introduction, vol. V, pp. Cxxvii.

3 Basin's Historia Caroli VII is precisely what it sets out to be, with only a single reference to the author, in the third person (the encomium on his conduct at the surrender of Lisieux). But the Historia Ludovici XI is in effect the history of the wrongs of Thomas Basin.

remain popular and oral, and in consequence to undergo continual transformations moving it farther and farther from fact and nearer and nearer to fiction. It became entangled with the folk myths of the heroic age, and both combined with the remnants of the epic tradition to form a body of part-historical, part-legendary literature which had its last manifestation at the beginning of the XVth century in Cuvelier's Vie de Bertrand du Guesclin.

B. Chronicles. Whereas memoirs treat of a contemporary or near-contemporary period, chronicles at least purport to reconstruct the remote past. A second distinction is almost always imposed by circumstances, although not logically inherent in the two styles. Just as the memoir and not the chronicle is limited in time, so also the memoir and not the chronicle tends to be limited in space. The memorialist was writing of what he himself knew or might have heard from direct witnesses; and in early times this normally did not and could not lead him very far afield. On the other hand, the absence of any strong sense of national boundaries, the cross-sections formed by other groupings of society, prevented the chronicler from purposely limiting his work to his own country.

But this aspect must not be pressed too far, for

it is valid only with considerable qualifications. Although in the main the memorialist would treat of his own country or even district, yet the biographer of Charlemagne would require all Europe as his canvas; the biographer of Philippe II would not only have to give some account of the political situation in England, Flanders and the Empire, but to stage a considerable portion of his drama in the Holy Land. A contemporary memorialist like Froissart might, if inquisitive and enterprising, himself range from Flanders to England and Gascony and by the medium of his informants to Portugal, Ireland, the Balkans and North Africa.

Similarly, although the chronicler might propose to embrace the whole world, in practice the sources at his disposal were ~~limited~~ restricted and incomplete, and the more so the more distant and obscure the region. Also he could not set down the whole of even those which he did possess. He was compelled to make some sort of selection; and in doing so, naturally and rightly, he tended to concentrate on the regions most familiar to him, for which his information was greatest and most ~~direct~~ direct. With all the chronicles except the very earliest, the procedure is much the same. They begin with Creation or even earlier, sacred and classical history, and late

pagan and early Christian antiquity, all from a small number of well-recognised sources. They then draw on one of the popular compilations (Eusebius-Jerome, Aimoin, Sigibert of Gembloux) for an account of the early Middle Ages which covered Western Europe in a fairly general although patchy way. But as soon as they reach the period when the nations of Europe began to define themselves, the references to their own region expand, those to all others ^{contract} shrink; and if the story is carried down to their own day, they end by treating almost exclusively of a single kingdom or province, or even of the internal details of a monastery or town. In fact there is not, and never could be, any such thing as a truly universal chronicle.

This sensible retraction of aim was confirmed when the emergence of the new European kingdoms gave it a territorial rather than a merely tribal foundation. The term "national consciousness" could not legitimately be used here; for nationalism in any recognisably modern sense only began to develop at earliest in the XVth or XVIth century. But by roughly speaking the XIIIth century people were aware in some vague way that being a Frenchman was not quite the same thing as being an Englishman or an Italian. It was not at all a

powerful feeling at first; it did not fill a large place in men's minds, and was overshadowed by other interests and loyalties, some wider and some narrower in scope. But it existed in the form of expansion of the primitive sense of community among the inhabitants of one village or valley; it was "us" as opposed to the other people.

History was not yet national in the sense of being used consciously, as it was from the XVth century onwards, as a vehicle for exalting one's country's reputation or making its case against another. It was a much simpler, more natural instinct; people were just more interested in writing and reading about the territorial unit with which their imagination was familiar and with whose fortunes they felt a personal sympathy, than about the more remote districts which were certainly alien and might on occasion be hostile. This led in all countries to a good deal of tendencious matter, whose naive partisanship amounted frequently to prejudice and sometimes to disingenuousness. But it genuinely was a consequence and expression of the attitude of the writer, rather than consciously designed to create such an attitude in the reader.

2. The Chronicles of Saint-Denis and the Great
Chronicles of France.¹

A. The Saint-Denis Collection. This compromise between the universal and the national, already visible in chronicles like those of Guillaume de Nangis and Geraud de Frachet, reached its consummation in the formation from the ~~xxx~~ XIIth to the XIVth century of the body of historical literature connected with the abbey of Saint-Denis. This institution, by which a single monastery was in a sense made the custodian and interpreter of the records of the monarchy, was a very remarkable affair, and seems to have had no parallel elsewhere comparable in importance or duration. The St. Albans Chronicles in England were never systematic or official in the same way; and the Carolingian monastic annals, which were similar in fundamental character, seem never to have been attached permanently to a single house, and did not survive the Carolingian empire.

1 There seems to be no comprehensive study of Saint-Denis as a historiographical institution. The account given here is derived in substance from Molinier: Sources, vol. III, pp. 97-101, and vol. V, pp. cx-cxlii; the Prefaces to the Grandes Chroniques in the editions of Paulin Paris (6 vols. Paris 1836-8) and Jules Viard (SHP, 9 vols. Paris 1920-37); and the articles cited separately in the notes.

Tradition, always eager to attach every event to some great figure, from at least the XIVth century attributed the conception of the Great Chronicles of France to Suger. It is now generally agreed that there is no positive foundation for this. But Molinier dates from between 1120 and 1131, about the time of Suger's abbacy, the beginning of the collection of Latin chronicles which eventually covered the whole history of the French monarchy to date. These were at first in their original separate form, although some show signs of editing at the points where they needed to be connected together, and at quite an early date a monk of the abbey made some notes intended as a draft of a connected history.

About the middle of the XIIIth century this project was put into effect, and the resulting compendium (Bibliothèque nationale MS. latin 5925) embodies the various chronicles, more or less literally transcribed, with only addition of transitional passages, down to 1223. About 1286 there was added the material covering the subsequent reigns down to the end of that of Philippe III. It is these Latin chronicles, either separate or thus roughly tacked together, which are properly termed

1 Sourbess, vol. III, pp. 97-101; vol. V, p. cx.

the "Chronicles of Saint-Denis", as opposed to the vernacular "Great Chronicles of France" which were derived from them.

By at least the XIIIth century this collection of Latin chronicles enjoyed an authority causing them to be the best guarantee for the authenticity of any history or even romance¹ and covering even such monstrosities of absurdity as the pseudo-Turpin if they had chanced to find their way into the sacrosanct archives²; for at Saint-Denis "everything is a chronicle"³. So late as the middle of the XVth century not only were the the Saint-Denis chronicles regarded as sworn authority for the history of all Europe,³ but information derived from Saint-Denis still constituted

1- For examples of the curious topics for which it could be solemnly invoked, v. Lacurne de Sainte-Palaye: "Mémoire concernant les principaux monuments de l'histoire de France", in MAIB (Littérature), vol. XV (1743), pp. 580-616.

2- Ibid (citation from Romance of Beufres de Hantonne).

3- Jean Chartier: Chronique de Charles VII, chaps. CLXVIII, CCLXVIII, ed. Vallet de Viriville (Bibliothèque Elzévirienne, 3 vols. Paris 1858), ~~xxiii~~ vol. II, p. 91; vol. III, pp. 68-9.

legal proof.¹

Apart from this position of special authority, there was nothing surprising from the point of view of a mediaeval monarchy in the notion of such a collection of records. What is ~~surprising~~ more unexpected, from a very early date, whether the impulse came from the monarch or from the monks themselves, attempts were made to translate them into the vernacular. The first of these were no more than rough drafts. But in 1274 a monk of Saint-Denis called Primat offered Philippe III a consecutive history in French down to the end of the reign of Philippe II, closely following the Saint-Denis chronicles and filling in the gaps as best he could. This formed the basis of all the later Great Chronicles, receiving successive additions until all were merged in the great edition prepared by the authority of Charles V and carrying them down to his own reign.

MB. The Great Chronicles 1285-1350. But the treatment of material inevitably altered after Primat. His compilation was exclusively concerned with the past, and could be prepared in the same way as any other chronicle.

1 In 1445 Jean Chartier as chronographus of Charles VII gave envoys from Gerona an extract certified in conformity with the Letter of Aimoin to Abbo mentioning privileges granted by Charlemagne to some Spanish towns. V. Charles Samaran: "La chronique latine de Jean Chartier 1422-50", in BSHF, LXXXVII (1926), pp. 183-213.

But when the lives of Louis VIII, Louis IX and Philippe III had been added, the events to be recorded had become contemporary, and the compilers could no longer draw on the Saint-Denis archives. They made what use they could of the chronicles of Guillaume de Nangis (a monk of Saint-Denis and official historiographer of the crown, author of the lives of Louis IX and Philippe III in the Great Chronicles) and his continuators and those of Geraud de Frachet; and where these failed them they themselves kept up a double series of annals, one in Latin and the other in French, either simultaneously composed or immediately translated from it. The intellectual reputation of Latin was still taken very much for granted in the early XIVth century, and much of the unquestioning confidence inspired by the Saint-Denis chronicles had been due to their being written in it.¹ The monks presumably feared that they would forfeit this confidence if they no longer based their vernacular version upon something which could lay claim to a share of this time-

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Selonc les certaines chroniques....
Dont j'ai transcrits les Memoires
A Saint Denis soir et matin
A l'exemplaire du Latin.

Sainte-Palaye: Op. cit. p. 559 (citation from the
Branche aux Roiaux Lignages of Guillaume Guiart,
first years of XIVth century).

honoured authority. Even in the middle of the XVth century Jean Chartier made a preliminary Latin draft of at least the first part of his Chronique de Charles VII.¹

C. The Great Chronicles 1350-80. But this tradition was temporarily broken by what appears to be an intrusive section for the period between Philippe VI and Charles VI². It is now generally agreed that the reigns of Jean II and Charles V form a work of totally different character and probably different provenance. In the edition of the Société de l'Histoire de France it was published separately 1910-20, edited by R. Delachenal, with the title Chronique des regnes de Jean II et de Charles V, while the Great Chronicles properly speaking were not published until 1920-37, edited by Jules Viard. This distinction had been suggested by the manuscripts themselves. In Bibliothèque nationale MS. français 20350, in the same hand until the accession of Charles VI, the scribe has written at the end of the reign of Philippe VI: "Here end the Chronicles of France." In Bib. nat. MS. fr. 2813 the whole arrangement of the chapters changes with the accession of Jean II.²

1 Samaran: Op. cit.

2 H.F. Delaborde: "La vraie chronique du Religieux de de Saint-Denis", in BEC, LI (1890), pp. 93-110.

Further, there is no internal evidence to connect this section with Saint-Denis, and much to suggest that it was composed under the direct inspiration and supervision of Charles V. It is no longer a simple and relatively detached monastic chronicle; it is a conscious and highly sophisticated and accomplished piece of political propaganda, achieving its purpose all the more successfully by maintaining on the whole a scrupulous accuracy as to facts and confining its tendentious influence to the light in which it sets them. Its value is greater than that of any of the preceding parts of the compilation; but it is of a different kind.

This instalment is generally attributed to Pierre d'Orgement, the Chancellor and confidant of Charles V, and it has even been suggested that the reason why the account of the reign down to 1375 could be published before 1377, despite the tradition that it was necessary to wait until the king was dead and the official Latin version was deposited in Saint-Denis, was that it was not in fact originally intended to form part of the Great

Chronicles at all.¹ The arguments on which this contention

1 Ibid.

is based are perhaps not wholly conclusive,⁴ and it would certainly be strange that either no Saint-Denis production existed or survived for this important period, or that having existed it should have been completely superseded in all the official editions by the version of an outsider. There was little to prevent Charles V from imposing the contribution of his own mouthpiece on Saint-Denis; but the voluntary inclusion of this royalist pamphlet, distinct in tone and purpose from the previous Saint-Denis tradition, seems lacking in adequate motive and difficult to credit. However this may be, there is no question that the section on Jean II and Charles V marks a stage in the transformation of the Great Chronicles from the sanctioned annals of a monastic house into the direct official products of a royal historiographer.

It also, perhaps for this very reason, forms a distinct break in the series. Even when it is included with the regular Great Chronicles, as in the edition of Paulin Paris, it is customary to conclude the series there, and to treat the successive regnal histories covering the next

1 Delaborde seems to found it chiefly on the phrase: "Les chroniques de France et celles que a faittes nostre ame et feul chancelier." But "and" is not perhaps necessarily strictly disjunctive here.

century as individual compositions. The distinction is probably sound, in the sense that they were ~~xxxx~~ never afterwards absorbed into a cumulative unified edition under the formal sanction of Saint-Denis. Moreover, as will be seen, odd things undeniably happened in connection with the sources for the later compilations going by the name of the Great Chronicles, both the choice and the treatment of which are difficult to reconcile with any effective editing in accordance with the regular Saint-Denis tradition.

It should however be observed that, in the first place, it is perhaps questionable whether, if we are to make the distinction so strict as this, even the edition covering the reigns of Jean II and Charles V should be included. Secondly, general compilations under the title of the Great Chronicles continued to be produced even into the XVth century,¹ and it seems rash to assert that none of these, especially the earlier ones, were produced under any sponsorship of Saint-Denis.

It is established that Saint-Denis had by no means abandoned its interest in the preservation of the archives

1 Henri Hauser: *Continuation of Holinier's Sources* (12 vols. Paris 1906-35), vol. I, pp. 20-1.

of the kingdom and their preparation for publication, even in the disturbed years of the first half of the XVth century. There has been gradual discovery¹ of a series of Latin texts, dating from the late XIVth and early XVth century, apparently designed in precisely the traditional way as foundation for a new edition of the Great Chronicles. The two first parts (Bibliothèque Mazarine MSS. 553, 554), covering the period 768-1270, are expansions of the chronicle of Guillaume de Kangis, made on principles quite similar to those on which the XIIIth century compilation had been constructed; and it is significant that they seem to have been used in preference to the Great Chronicles by XVth,² XVIth,³ and even early XVIIth⁴ century historians.⁵ The authority of the original Latin texts of Saint-Denis was evidently still felt to be greater than that of the vernacular Great Chronicles.

1 P. Viollet: "Une grande chronique latine de Saint-Denis", in RHC, XXXIV (1873), pp. 241-54; A. Luchaire: "Une très-ancienne histoire de France", in RAH, Year 12, vol. XXXIV (May-August 1887), pp. 259-76; H.F. Delabonde: "La vraie chronique du religieux de Saint-Denis", in RHC, LI (1290), pp. 93-110, reviewed by L. Delisle in JG (Oct. 1900), pp. 610-6.

2 Probably by Robert Gaguin; v. pp. 99-107.

3 Nicole Gilles, Belleforest.

4 Doublet, the historian of Saint-Denis.

5 Luchaire: Op. cit. p. 274.

D. The Religieux de Saint-Denis and Juvenal des Ursins. The section of this Latin version for 1270-1380, if ever written, has apparently been lost.¹ But with the reign of Charles VI it reappears in a form which is of the highest interest in every way. Bib. nat. MS. lat. 5959 is composed in the first place of the chronicle of the anonymous author known as the Religieux de Saint-Denis, followed by the unfinished Latin chronicle of Jean Chartier, who succeeded the Religieux as the historian of the next reign. H.F. Delaborde observes that the writing of the chronicle of the Religieux in this copy is highly individual, and he is disposed to regard it as the author's autograph. He further points out that Bib. Maz. MS. 554 and both parts of Bib. nat. MS. lat. 5959 (the Religieux and Chartier) are arranged on a similar plan, with chapters headed by the tituli capitales (regnal years of the Pope, the Emperor and the more important kings) which Delaborde thinks may have been confined to chronicles with some pretensions to universality, being designed for synoptic purposes.²

Thus in the early years of the XVth century the

1 Delisle: Op. cit. p. 615.

2 Op. cit.

assumption still was that the Saint-Denis chronicles were in their first stage universal in scope and Latin in language, and designed to remain so in the archives of Saint-Denis for consultation by any one who required their decisive authority for historical, literary or legal purposes. The second stage, also necessary to the system since the XIIIth century, as has been seen, was for them to be abridged and translated before they were set at the disposal of the general public as the Great Chronicles.

For the reign of Charles VI this second stage presents a problem. The work of the Religieux is immensely long. It covers a reign of 42 years at a momentous and dramatic period of French history, and also concerns itself, in pursuance of its general plan, with matters in Europe, the East and Africa. The recension required would obviously be considerable; it could not be done lightly on the side, like the brief informal jottings at the beginning of the XIVth century. And in fact there seems to be no vernacular version which can with certainty be attributed directly to Saint-Denis for this reign.

Was there then no such version made, or was it lost? In either case, what decided the choice of a substitute? Was it imposed upon the monks, and if so by whom? Or did they make it themselves, and if so on what grounds?

Non-existence is by no means impossible. If it was customary to translate simultaneously with the composition of the original, as there is some reason to suppose it was in the earlier part of the XIVth century, there was of course nothing to prevent almost two-thirds of the original from being so treated. On the other hand, it must be remembered that strictly speaking the Saint-Denis chronicles were not the authoritative records of the monarchy until formally sanctioned by the reigning monarch after the death of his predecessor and deposited in the treasury of Saint-Denis. Even if the early XIVth century writers, for whatever reason, had thought good to keep up a parallel series in both languages, the Religieux or those charged to abridge his book might have felt it both more becoming and more prudent to wait for this official recognition which presumably might in theory might always be refused, however certain it was in practice that they would receive it.

If this was so, or even if the translation was ~~was~~ voluntarily or involuntarily deferred to some later stage of the composition, it is plain that the case would be very different. In the first place, the Religieux may

have died about 1420,¹ and so not even have completed the Latin version himself, much less have been able to translate it. Secondly, although the first 30 years of the reign of Charles VI were upon the whole peaceful and prosperous, by the second decade of the XVth century there was little security or leisure for detached intellectual occupations. Saint-Denis was at the centre of operations from the beginning to the end of the wars. It was surrounded by the ravages of the partisans in the original civil dissensions; its strategic importance in regard to Paris caused it to be continually threatened throughout the period of invasion; it changed hands several times and underwent a regular siege in the later stages of the campaigns; the abbey was occupied by² Burgundian and royalist troops,³ and what was left after their depredations was sacked by the English when they recovered possession;⁴ and even in the intervals when no actual violence was present or impending the monks were

1 Ch. Samaran: "La chronique latine inédite de Jean Chartier (1422-50)", in RHC, LXXXVII (1926), p. 150.

2 Chartier: Chronique, chap. ci; vol. I, pp. 179-83.

3 Religieux de Saint-Denis: Chronique du règne de Charles VI, Bk. 39, chap. VII, Bk. 40, chap. VIII, éd. Bellaguet (DHF, 6 vols. Paris 1839-52), vol. VI, pp. 252-42, 354-60.

4 Chartier, ut supra; and v. also the Latin chronicle.

liable at any moment to ~~be~~ be subjected under pretext of the financial demands of the war to exactions which were certainly burdensome and vexatious and which to them¹ appeared unreasonable.

In the circumstances, the surprising thing is not that no one at Saint-Denis set down during these years to the long and laborious task of adapting the production of the Religieux into a portion of the Great Chronicles; it is rather that the Religieux himself should have had the courage and composure to persist in his part.

That a complete version should never have been produced is thus very possible. But it would be strange that there should have been no attempt to make one at any point; and in fact a fragment of 9 Ff., probably derived from Saint-Denis and dating from about the middle of the XVth century, appears to be the draft of a fairly free rendering for which other documents at Saint-Denis were also employed, and which while preserving the substance of the original quite faithfully has skilfully adapted the wording so as to give it throughout a more² royalist and patriotic emphasis. This may have been

1 V. the lamentations of the Religieux on the seizure (although with compensation) of the gold case of the chasuble of St. Louis: Bk. 39, chap. VI; vol. VI, pp. 224-8.

2 Waillet de Viriville: Preface to Chartier's Chronique, vol. I, pp. Lvi-Lix.

intended as the official version, undertaken in this case considerably after the event. It suggests at least that the project had not been deliberately abandoned, and that some attempts were made to put it into practice; which is precisely what might be expected.

But even if such a version had been made, or partly made, unless there had been time to reproduce a considerable number of copies, it might easily have disappeared amid the disorders of the early part of the XVth century. It is probable that the destruction and dispersal of the great library of Saint-Denis began at this period¹, and even when peace and order returned the process continued in consequence of the general decadence of Saint-Denis like other abbeys in a age when the religious life had become less vital and less esteemed; of the institution of absentee commendatory abbots who were chiefly interested in the financial profits of their benefice and sometimes if Humanist in inclination carried off (or were accused of carrying off)² precious volumes from the abbey library for their own use; and later of the predatory attitude of the XVIIth century collectors, both private and official,

1 Ch. Samaran: "Etudes sandjoniennes", in Revue, CIV (1943), pp. 5-100.

2 Ibid.

towards the treasures of monastic libraries.¹ That the manuscript of the Religieux itself should have escaped these hazards is not surprising; as part of the Saint-Denis collection, it would have been preserved with a care very different from that devoted to a mere vernacular version, less important in itself, provisional in character, and very likely not even completed.

On the assumption then, probable though not proved, that the monks, when at the instigation of Charles VII they turned their thoughts back to the Great Chronicles,² had only the original of the Religieux, no adequate comprehensive^{he} translation, how did they deal with the situation?

If any pressure had been brought to bear from outside to influence their choice, it could only have been by the king. But no record of active dictation seems to have survived, and there is certain negative evidence that it did not take place. Charles VII had his own official historiographer, about to embark on a vernacular history of his reign, and who had probably been intimately

1 V. Léopold Delisle: Le Cabinet des MSS. de la Bibliothèque impériale (3 vols. Paris 1868-81), vol. I, for the entertaining, if slightly repellent, story of the gradual absorption of these individual deposits into the great collections.

2 V. p. 51.

connected with Saint-Denis historiography for a number of years previously. Nothing would have been ~~xxxxxx~~ simpler than for Charles VII to entrust the recension of his father's reign also to Jean Chartier, who there is good reason to suppose had been concerned in the original version of the Religieux, and who would therefore presumably be best equipped to handle it. That he apparently did not suggests that he at least did not impose his own contribution in the sense that Charles V may have done.

But this of course is not to say that they would have been entirely uninfluenced by his known wishes in the matter. By the middle of the XVth century the Saint-Denis chronicles were no longer the independent authority which they had been; and the monks, even if ostensibly left free to treat of past history as they pleased, would probably have felt it imprudent to give their formal sanction to any version of events not in general agreement with that which the crown had authorised.

~~But-this-of-course-is-not-to-say~~
This at least seems the nearest approach to an explanation of the curious course taken by the Great Chronicles at this point. The continuations carrying them beyond the reign of Charles V, which for the rest of the XVth century follow the official historiographers very

closely, appear both in the manuscript¹ and printed copies, to have used the Histoire de Charles VI of Jean Juvenal des Ursins.²

It is true that this is often regarded as a mere translation of the Religieux; and Juvenal probably did draw on him extensively for the earlier period. Not only is the substance generally similar; Juvenal also seems to have derived from the Religieux some things which he was not likely to have found elsewhere. Apparently no author except the Religieux,³ and Juvenal⁴ following him, records the skirmish near Saint-Denis at the beginning of 1420 in which Lord Willoughby lost his luggage. This derivation is confirmed by Juvenal calling him the "count of Willy [or Wilby]", a slip which must be due to the "comes Dalbi" of the Religieux, since Juvenal clearly knew who

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- 1 Bib. nat. MS. anc. fonds 8298 contains Juvenal followed by Chartier. It was probably executed about the middle or end of the reign of Louis XI. V. Vallet de Viriville: Preface to his ed. of Chartier.
 - 2 There is great variation in the spelling of his name. This form is adopted in accordance with the ruling of Louis Batiffol: "Le Nom de famille de Juvenal des Ursins", in REC, I (1889), pp. 536-58.
 - 3 Chronique, Ek. 40, chap. XXIII; vol. VI, p. 400.
 - 4 Histoire de Charles VI, s. a. 1419 (CMF, Ser. 1, vol. II, Paris 1836), p. 536.

was intended and has made an attempt to ~~ix~~ bring back the corruption of the name closer to accuracy.¹ Still more signifixcant, he seems also in parts to have adopted an almost pro-Burgundian tinge very different from his later attitude, as in the severity of his judgment on Louis of Orléans and repetition of the account of the infamy of the court and unworthy neglect of the king.² It must however be remembered that he asserts that almost all his life he had been a retainer of Jean the Fearless, and had only left the domestic service of his son on discovering his intention of handing over the crown and kingdom to the English.³ If this is true, and if he did not seriously revise his work on its conclusion, it would account for the altered tone without his necessarily having copied from the Religieux.

Moreover, if we grant the strong probability that he

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- 1 Bellaguet adds to the confusion by translating "comes Dalbi" as ~~x~~ "the earl of Derby", although there was no such person at the time, the earldom being vested in the ~~xxxxx~~ king. Wilby, Dilby, du Deby, d'Albery, seem to have been the successive permutations. V. Jean de Lueil: Le Jouvencel, ed. Camille Pavre and Léon Récestre (SNT, 2 vols. Paris 1889), vol. II, p. 287.
 - 2 Histoire, s. a. 1405, pp. 437-8.
 - 3 Ibid. s. a. 1420, p. 557.

did, there are two points to be observed. In the first place, as ~~there~~ is frequently pointed out, it was altogether a matter of course for mediaeval and late-mediaeval historians to copy even verbatim from any records supposed to be connected with Saint-Denis, in order to gain an added authority for their work; and their doing so carried no necessary implication of official status or ^apretension to it. Secondly, the book is fact in no sense a replica. It is not only a pronounced abridgment, which was in the regular Saint-Denis tradition. The actual events recorded are not always the same; their order is transposed, their emphasis shifted. All this of course could be merely the result of clumsiness on Juvenal's part in handling his source, combined with some minor variants due to supposed superior knowledge; and indeed the awkwardness of the narrative in the earlier parts suggests the faltering touch of an unskilful abbreviator.

But there is also perceptible throughout the difference between the monk viewing the world from the isolation of his cloister and the practical man of affairs involved in all its problems and turbulence. Juvenal is dealing with concrete examples where the Religieux generalises. He drastically curtails such moral observations as he preserves, and in his mouth, in contrast to the

burning sincerity conveyed by the Religieux even at his most rhetorical, they have become frigid mechanical platitudes. The spirit of the whole composition has been subtly changed. Right from the beginning, hostility to the English as such (virtually non-existent in the Religieux) emerges in little malicious asides and in appreciation of any signs of national spirit among the French.¹

Further, if Juvénal is by no means slavish even for the early part where he is basically dependent on his source, after about 1410, when he is able to draw on his father's memories and his own experience, all identity and even similarity disappear. This was very natural, for the difference between the two men was marked. Juvénal was a son of the Provost of the Merchants who played so important and creditable a part in the Parisian revolutions of the reign, and himself an active politician and a zealous and faithful adherent of Charles VII throughout his varying fortunes. We have descended from the lofty detachment of the judge to the ex parte pleading of an advocate.

1 Ibid. s. s. 1383, 1385, 1402, 1404; pp. 358, 363, 422, 429.

It is true that the advocate is honest and moderate to an unusual degree. Juvenal is one of the rare cases in which the anticipatory protest against accusations of bias and the profession of having only "set down the true truth as best he could",¹ instead of further increasing our suspicions, really carries conviction because so well borne out by the general tone of the text. Juvenal, anxious as he is to show things in the light which he favours, does not feel it necessary to his case to blacken his enemies or always to justify his friends. There is one point only where a hint of defensiveness creeps in; Juvenal is perhaps not wholly frank over what he knows or suspects about the murder of Jean the Fearless.² Yet even here, where he is not at ease, he honourably sets down the various current versions of the incident and leaves them to our judgment with scarcely any of the tendentious arguments which he must have wished to attach to them. It is most noteworthy that when he cites "it was said" he seems genuinely to mean us to take it for as rumour and for what it is worth, instead of making it a subterfuge to insinuate a view without assuming the responsibility of proving it. His

1 Ibid. s. 34. 1420; p. 557.

2 Ibid. s. 2. 1419; pp. 554-5.

whole treatment of the delicate topic of the climate of opinion is sensitive, accurate and illuminating.

Yet when this has been said, when we have paid a most well-deserved tribute to the convinced partisan who could constrain himself to hold the scales so even, the fact remains that Juvenal was writing not with any pretension to passing absolute judgments but quite openly from a single clearly-defined point of view. This attitude, as he interpreted and practised it, does not vitiate or even greatly reduce the value of his work. But it fundamentally alters its character, and alters it in a way which one would have supposed likely to render it unacceptable to the historians of Saint-Denis with their different background and theorizings.

Nevertheless, the monks of Saint-Denis belonged to their age like any one else, and were probably influenced, though less than a layman would be, by the prevalent nationalist and royalist current. Their own experiences in the course of the war must have fostered such a change in attitude, and by the middle of the XVth century they may have been less unwilling than their predecessors to sanction an interpretation of history on these lines. After all, in similar circumstances so early as the reign of Charles V an even more drastic divergence from the Saint-Denis pattern had been accepted.

Finally, there is the spirit of natural human laziness. The zeal of the monks for historical composition seems to have waned (as will be seen in the case of Chartier) with other enthusiasms in the monastic decadence and demoralisation of the XVth century. Rather than themselves face the task of adapting the tomes of the Religieux, they may well have been glad to take on a ready-made version which was fully satisfactory to their royal patron, and which at the same time on a superficial examination could be regarded as a faithful reproduction of the Religieux.

Yet there seems a measure of mystery why they should have preferred something outside and alien to an authentic version of the work of their own inmate, produced in the most strict accordance with their tradition, and with which they could have had no reason to be dissatisfied. It is strange and regrettable that while we possess superfluous biographical details as to some mediaeval and Renaissance historians of little importance, the author of one of the finest pieces of French late-mediaeval historiography not only has not deigned to tell us his name but has left no clues by which we might conjecture it with any certainty. ~~Nothing can be built confidently~~

it with any certainty.¹ Nothing can be built confidently on the passages where he himself claims to be present at what he describes, for he employs to the full the mediaeval practice of unacknowledged citations in which the first person of the original author is left unchanged.²

~~Making~~^{When} every allowance has been made for certain unavoidable² deficiencies, the chronicle of the Religieux remains a most impressive performance. It has to a high degree the virtues of the monastic chronicle at its best, and only a modified degree of its vices. The annalistic form does not jar on this scale, for the fulness of detail within each year gives a satisfying sense of completeness. The Religieux was much better informed than a monk in a similar position in an earlier age would have been, both as to domestic and foreign affairs, and he was also better mentally equipped to sort and arrange this information. Details as to the monastery, though present

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- 1 V. Ch. Samaran: "Études sandyonisiennes", in ELC, CIV (1943), pp. 40-8, for discussion of this and a hypothetical solution which he admits is fragile and provisional.
 - 2 V. H. Moranville's attribution to Pierre Salmon on these grounds, in ELC, LX (1889), pp. 8-40, and the refutation by Noël Valois, in ELC, LXIII (1902), pp. 233-62.

in greater number than if he had not been a monk of Saint-Denis, do not obtrude themselves unduly, nor indeed do religious matters in general to the point of overbalancing the narrative. He knows that we will be interested in the Councils and the end of the Schism, but also in the Treaty of Troyes and the fate of Naples.

Above all, in an age of the most passionate partisan bitterness, of divided loyalties and shaken beliefs, he is never deserted by a firmness and rectitude of moral judgment beyond all praise. This does not of course mean that we would necessarily now endorse every individual verdict which he passes. Though he never shocks to the same degree as some of his contemporaries, there are passages revealing an attitude which to us seems childish or insensitive; he had been moulded by his age and environment and did not look outside them.

As a sincere mediaeval churchman, he had not the patriotic preoccupations of the later part of the XVth century. His interests are general, his loyalties institutional rather than national. He supports the king of France in general as against any other king, but not against the Church. He is dazzled by Henry V's ostentatious show of piety, morality and justice, and seems not far from endorsing his claim to be the

instrument of God's judgment on the sins of the French, sins against which the Religieux had been inveighing for years; and in parts here he becomes what his contemporaries would have called "a very bad Frenchman". But in fact he was only seeing things from a different angle; in his own way he was by no means without feeling either for the distresses of his country or the honour of the French name.¹ Where his own sphere is concerned, he can show as much of the spirit of clique as any one.² But in the case of national rivalries he has a lofty impartiality soon to founder in the flood of virulent party pamphlets and angry histories on both sides, in which the French are versipelles³ and the English barbari,⁴ and both are respectively credited without exception with the blackest motives.

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- 1 Chronique, Bk. 39, chap. XXVIII; vol. VI, pp. 310-2 (heroic defence by the lady of la Roche-Guyon, who refuses to redeem her inheritance by marrying the turncoat Guy le Bouteiller), and Bk. 40, chap. XXII; vol. VI, pp. 398-400 (retort of the Eastard of Alençon to Henry V).
 - 2 Ibid. Bk. 39, chap. XIII; vol. VI, p. 272 (his comic indignation at the misfortunes in which Abbot Philippe involved himself and Saint-Denis by not taking the side of the duke of Burgundy, whose influence had raised him to his office).
 - 3 This is Walsingham's habitual epithet for them in the St. Albans Chronicles.
 - 4 Blondel calls them nothing else in De Reductione Normannie.

Similarly, as a good bourgeois with a proper regard for the welfare and stability of the commonweal, and for all the virtues which make ordinary life safe, orderly and respectable, he was shocked to the core by the extravagance, profligacy and irresponsibility of the ruling classes. He saw how the people were ground down by unreasonable taxation even before war and brigandage came to aggravate their lot; he knew (or supposed he knew) that nameless abominations went on in the household of the king himself. And conventional as much of his language is, there is no doubting the vibrant sincerity of the horror underlying it.

The book is an act of conscience from beginning to end; and it is a spectacle nothing less than heroic to see this modest and simple old man,¹ amidst all the turmoil and danger and tragedy surrounding him, continually distracted by compassion for others and apprehension for himself, pursuing his appointed task with the same calm unshaken truthfulness and high principle until the pen dropped from his hand. If he had foreseen that there was to be no further instalment of the true Saint-Denis chronicles,

1 In his seventies in 1419: Chronique, Bk. 40, chap. X; vol. VI, pp. 367-8.

and deliberately set out to close the great series worthily, he could not have erected a nobler monument, or one which would command our more whole-hearted respect.

E. Jean Chartier. For whatever view may be taken of whether the official Great Chronicles should be concluded with Philippe VI or Charles V, there can be no doubt that a decisive change took place in their whole spirit in the reign of Charles VII.

It is true that we do not know what was the formal relationship between Saint-Denis and the historiographer royal in the earlier centuries. In 1410, in the course of a law-suit with the chapter of Notre-Dame on the subject of the head of St. Denis, the monks made a startling repudiation of any connection with the chronicles except that they were deposited in Saint-Denis after the king's death for the Great Chronicles to be extracted from them. The historiographer, they said, was the chronicler of the king, not of Saint-Denis.

"It is a royal office, for he is appointed by the king, takes an oath to the king, and has livery in the king's household as an officer. Item, and though sometimes the chronicler has been one of the monks of Saint-Denis, it is by the king's authority, and they have taken the oath to the king and had livery, and so

has the present one; and if they are called chroniclers of Saint-Denis, it is a manner of speaking and so that foreigners should not say that they put in too much or too little about anything in favour of the kings of France. But whatever name they have, they are chroniclers of France appointed to write down the noteworthy events of France so that past affairs may be remembered... For there never has been, and is not, more than one chronicler in France, as is well known, and this chronicler writes down the noteworthy and memorable affairs of the kingdom... It is true that in the past the kings of France had people appointed and deputed by them in their household to enregister noteworthy facts. And after the deaths of the kings these chronicles were placed in custody at Saint-Denis, for it is not six or seven score years that the monks of Saint-Denis have begun to write chronicles."¹

This, if given its fullest meaning, would seem to shatter the whole traditional view of the Saint-Denis chronicles, and place the chroniclers, from Suger & downwards, in a position already like that of the XVIIIth

1 H.F. Delaborde: "La vraie chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis", in RHC, LI (1890), pp. 93-110, citing Archives nationales L 862, no. 2, ff. LV-LVI; no. 4, f. I.

century historiographers royal, producing their official record under direct dictation from the crown. It is true that the monks were pleading a cause. The chapter had refused to admit the evidence which they adduced from Rigord and Guillaume de Nangis on the grounds that they were monks and chroniclers of Saint-Denis; and they were concerned to meet this objection. But their claim is very positive and very precise, and their adversaries seem not to have been able to refute it. It is noteworthy that the period of 120 or 140 years which they give for the actual composition of the chronicles by the Saint-Denis monks goes back to where the ~~earlier~~ compilation of the earlier chronicles ends in the reign of Philippe III. They are therefore quite accurate, so far as this goes, in the distinction they draw between the adaptation of the works of others (who undoubtedly did not need to have any connection with Saint-Denis) and the contemporary recording of events for the express purpose of inclusion in the Saint-Denis archives.

However, even if this is admitted as revolutionising our view of the theory of the Saint-Denis chronicles, it does not alter their character in practice. Until the reign of Charles V, and after this exceptional and (one would suppose) unauthorised deviation again in that of

Charles VI, the Saint-Denis monks, officially in custody of the records of the monarchy, and generally (to put it no stronger) themselves charged with their official redaction for publication, seem to have proceeded with their task virtually without interference, with a greater or lesser degree of moral independence, no doubt, according to the personality both of the king and of the members of Saint-Denis at the time, but still fundamentally as free agents, planning and deciding on their own system, passing their own judgments, and regarding the finished product as part of themselves, not as something external and merely held in trust for the active originator.

It was this which was changed, never to return, after the reign of Charles VI. Charles VII did not, it is true, employ the brutal brusqueness of his impatient son. In this, as in everything else, he showed himself an adept at altering the substance and spirit of a customary institution without disturbing its form or seeming to deprive any one of a familiar and cherished part of life. What he did could not in appearance have been more obvious, regular, and even traditional. In 1437, when his dominion in the vital centre of France had been consolidated by the Treaty of Arras and the recovery of Paris, and he was in a position to turn some attention to ordinary administration

and even the indirect adjuncts of authority, he conferred the office of historiographer royal on Jean Chartier, a monk of Saint-Denis, who already, according to his own statement, had in the previous reign worked on the royal history unpaid for fifteen years,¹ and who there is reason to suppose had collaborated with the Religieux for the later part of his work and was perhaps the author of the two last Books of the Chronique du règne de Charles VI.²

Nothing could be more unexceptionable. But Charles VII, who seems to have shown a measure of personal choice in the matter,³ must have known very well what he was doing. Chartier belonged almost as fully as any courtier of the XVth or XVIth century to the new attitude in which, on paper at any rate, the king could do no wrong. The Chronique de Charles VII is a panegyric from beginning to end, and a tame and colourless panegyric at that, with no shading of emphasis to persuade us of the accuracy of the picture or bring it to life by some touches of variation. The French in general and the king in particular are right in everything they do; Chartier has even exposed himself

1 Chronique latine, chap. CXXXIV, ed. Ch. Samaran, in RHP, LXXVII (1926), pp. 183-275.

2 Ch. Samaran: "La Chronique latine inédite de Jean Chartier (1422-50)", in RHP, LXXVII (1926), pp. 147-57.

3 Chartier: Chronique latine, ut supra.



to ridicule by the passage in which he solemnly adduces the members of the royal household as witnesses to the perfect propriety of the relations of Charles VII with Agnes Sorel.¹

Moreover, although Chartier's previous experience of Saint-Denis historiography must to some extent have suggested Charles VII's choice, it is difficult not to suspect that he owed his appointment largely to this fortunate combination of representing the old tradition and yet being able to be trusted to take the correct line. He seems to have had little taste for his calling and not to have taken much trouble in pursuance of it. He was present at the siege of Harfleur² (one gathers very unwillingly), and so may have been in attendance on the royal army for all or part of the Norman campaign; the speech of Dunois to the ambassadors from Vernon³ and the king's ceremonial entry into Rouen sound as if they might be eye-witness accounts.⁴ But apart from this he seems to

1 Chronique de Charles VII, chap. CCXIII, ed. Vallet de Villeville (Bibliothèque Elzevirienne, 3 vols. Paris 1868), vol. II, pp. 181-6.

2 Ibid. chap. CCVI^{xvi}; vol. II, p. 180.

3 Ibid. chap. CLXXIV; vol. II, pp. 105-7.

4 Ibid. chap. CCIX; vol. II, pp. 160-71.

have been habitually resident at Saint-Denis and to have depended for his information upon hearsay or the work of others. This in itself would not have been an irremediable defect. It was after all quite in the Saint-Denis ~~xx~~ tradition; the Religieux, though he may have gone abroad on diplomatic missions,¹ was certainly based on Saint-Denis and must have composed by far the greater part of his work there. In his case, apart from an occasional touch of parochialism in his excessive detail on Saint-Denis, this has by no means resulted in his book appearing limited in scope or lifeless in character.

It is precisely this width of outlook and vividness of re-creation which Chartier wholly lacks. Apart from some curious details towards the end on the sack of Constantinople and the Turks in Hungary,² he deals with nothing beyond the most superficial aspects of the political and military events of the reign, and even with these in a selective, partial and not always accurate fashion, so that no complete picture or coherent ideas are left in the reader's mind. It is true that an undue

1 But v. p.43 for the unstable foundation of any biographical reconstruction of this kind.

2 Chronique, Chap. CCXIV-CCIXVIII, CCLXXVIII; vol. III, pp. 19-40, 66-9.

narrowing and formalising of the subject-matter supposed suitable for history was a vice common to both the Humanists and those mediaeval writers who precisely because they took a more serious and ambitious view of their calling were more under the sway of the rhetorical tradition of the "dignity of history". This could in some measure be overcome by an author talented in other directions. The best of the Humanists and the mediaeval rhetoricians, though they by no means tell us all we want to know, at least by their own sense of reality contrive to interest us in what they think fit to tell. Their picture may not portray the whole scene; but those elements of it which they have picked out are in themselves alive and true.

This Chartier never achieves; indeed he scarcely seems to wish to achieve it. Even the history of his own day, which he himself had seen and taken part in, is already dead as he handles it. He had no need of the historical imagination requisite to reconstruct the remote past, only of enough to embalm his own age in terms which would keep it alive for us; and even this he cannot do. The book is from beginning to end the perfunctory exercise of an indifferent hack, so naively credulous and ill-equipped with any critical faculty that he can

xxx reproduce word for word, as contemporary news, a supposed letter from the Grand Turk to the Pope¹, which had been composed, or rather fabricated, centuries earlier. The Chronique de Charles VII is a deplorable falling-off not only from the inspired elevation of the Religieux but even from the modest competence of Juvénal des Ursins. It marks the point where the impersonal mediaeval chronicle had worn itself out as a style, to be replaced on the one hand by the formal classical rhetoric of the Humanists, on the other by the subjective contemporary records of the memorialists.

F. Jean Castel and the Chronique Scandaleuse. The completeness of this disintegration becomes even more apparent in the next stage of French official historiography. Despite the obscurity of the story after this point, it seems probable that Chartier's was the last surviving, or even completed, instalment of what can be even in the widest sense be called the Great Chronicles of France.

When Chartier died, probably on 19 February 1463², Louis XI, according to Chastellain, in his feverish haste

1 Ibid. chap. CCXCVII; vol. II, pp. 36-9.

2 Ch. Samaran: "La Chronique latine inédite de Jean Chartier", in R.L.C., LXXVII (1926), p. 148.

to alter everything traditional, transferred "the authority of chronicler" from Saint-Denis to a Cluniac monk.¹ This Jean Castel was for a long time, in defiance of all ~~xx~~ chronological probability, supposed to have been the son of Christine de Pisan. There is no similar difficulty in the way of his being her grandson; but the evidence yet found is too tenuous for the hypothesis to require very serious attention.² It seems possible that he had already occupied himself with a history of the reign of Charles VII. In 1876 there was said to exist in the Vatican Library a parchment volume in a hand of c. 1480, containing a fragment on the reign of Charles VII, composed after 1461, and entitled: Chroniques abregées, par Castel, chroniqueur de France, composees. This seems to be an adaptation by some one with a special interest in Brittany, particularly Nantes.³

Castel's history of Louis XI also is apparently not extant as he composed it. Quicherat even casts doubts on how far it was ever completed, ~~xxx~~ pointing out that

1 Jules Quicherat: "Recherches sur le chroniqueur Jean Castel", in HMC, Ser. 1, II (1840-1), pp. 461-77.

2 Ibid.

3 L. Delisle: "Notice sur vingt MSS. du Vatican", in MA HMC, XXXVII (1876), pp. 519-20.

Castel, who died before the end of the reign, could not in any case have covered it all, and giving some reason to believe that he had not even drawn up the history of the first year in any coherent form. His theory is that Castel left only disjointed notes, accurate enough in themselves but without proper order or classification, of which his ill-informed successors did not make very good use.¹

e/ Further confirmation of this comes from the remarkable fact that the subsequent authors of general histories of an official or quasi-official character, including the Great Chronicles themselves, seem without exception to have adopted as the authoritative version for the dramatic and crucial reign of Louis XI the incomplete and trifling composition known oddly and inappropriately as the Chronique Scandaleuse.

This, formerly attributed to a mythical Jean de Troyes, greffier of the Hôtel de Ville of Paris, is now generally accepted as the work of Jean de Roye, secretary

1 Op. cit. But v. also the contradiction of this view by Bernard de Mandrot in the Introduction to his edition of the Chronique Scandaleuse (SNF, 2 vols. Paris 1894-6).

of the duke of Bourbon.¹ There might of course be two alternative explanations of its source. It could be, as Quicherat believed, that a Paris citizen copied the official version, merely adding some notes of a local and personal character. Or it could be, as Bernard de Mandrot believed, that Castel's notes disappeared or were not used, and the Chronique Scandaleuse would then be an original work which by some accident found its way into the quasi-official later editions of the Great Chronicles. But as against this, the editors who thus used ~~it~~ it certainly ^{is} connected it with the Great Chronicles; Verard's edition of the Chronique Martiniane (c. 1503), which reproduces the Chronique Scandaleuse verbally, specifically attributes it to Castel.

In any case it seems clear that those who used the work in fact copied de Roye, rather than that both they and de Roye went to the same source. The early printed editions of the Great Chronicles, and all the subsequent chronicles derived from them, not merely follow de Roye's

1 Bernard de Mandrot: "Quel est le véritable auteur de la chronique anonyme de Louis XI, dite la Scandaleuse?", in RHC, LII (1891), pp. 129-33.

narrative very closely, which could be the result, though less probably, of faithful copying by both of a common source. They have also adopted the peculiarities more appropriate to de Roye than to Castel: the zealous interest in the affairs of the house of Bourbon; the curious and rather sympathetic detail on the fate of the count of Saint-Pol, which has led some authorities to attribute the work to Denis Hesselin, greffier of the [^]Hotel de Ville at the time, who is frequently mentioned in the course of the proceeding¹; the domestic detail and sensational gossip connected with Paris citizen life. This moreover was done despite de Roye's own specific abjuration of any claim to the title of chronicles, as he had received no official commission to write them.²

It is highly probable that the various continuations did not each severally and deliberately choose to follow de Roye's version, but were all derived from whatever copy of the Great Chronicles first imprudently threw the aegis of its acceptance over it. But it is difficult to attribute

1 Ibid. pp. 129-30.

2 Chronique Scandaleuse, Prologue, ed. Bernard de Mandrot (SHE, 2 vols. Paris 1894-6), vol. 1, p. 2: "Combien que je ne vueil ne n'entens point les choses cy apres escriptes estre appellees, dictes ou nommees Croniques, pour ce que a moy n'appartient, et que pour ce fayre n'ay pas este ordonne et ne n'a este permys."

even a single choice, especially for a production still in the authoritative position of the Great Chronicles, to anything except the non-existence of the original.

If the work had a double authorship, we cannot now detect with any certainty which parts were Castels' and which de Roye's, and thus judge to which the defects of the work are to be attributed. The ^{general} tone of adulation may well have been Castel's, either from conviction or the necessity of his position. But de Roye has been either credulous or apathetic enough to reproduce everything which official propaganda wished to have believed, even when this leads him into the most glaring inconsistencies. He can give the authorised version of the interview of Peronne, in which no unpleasantness appears and Burgundy promises faith and duty to Louis XI,¹ and a few pages later speak of Cardinal Balue endangering the king's life and liberty by luring him there by bad advice.² It is only at the very end that a slightly different note appears. When Louis XI begins to interfere with the interests of de Roye's ~~about~~ ^{about} patrons the Bourbons, he becomes perceptibly

1 Ibid. p. 214.

2 Ibid. p. 227.

critical; and the final appraisal of the king is by no means so flattering as one would expect from the bulk of the text.

There are of course at least two possible explanations for this. The more obvious, and that which suggests that this aspect was due to Castel rather than to de Roye, is that this was the point where Castel's notes deserted de Roye and he began to write as was natural to his own feelings. Alternatively, it might simply be that by then Louis XI was dead, and de Roye had nothing either to gain from favour or to fear from censure. An author who took his colour from his general surroundings and official influence would obviously write very differently in the closing years of the reign of Louis XI and the opening years of the reign of Charles VIII. The scamped and hasty treatment of these last four years would again fit most naturally with difficulty of the inexperienced de Roye in composition as soon as he lacked Castel's guidance. Castel probably died early in 1478, and the abrupt change in character precisely at this point gives some additional weight to the view that de Roye had been making at least some use of him hitherto. On the other hand, the change could also be explained by this last section being in some sense an appendix, added after an

interval, while de Roye was perhaps in retirement with his special patron Charles de Bourbon Cardinal of Lyon.¹

But whatever the motive, spontaneous or imposed or simply the consequence of mental passivity, the servile gullibility which conditions the main text prevents us from deriving the benefit we otherwise might from a strictly contemporary record. De Roye was neither a man of action or business, to speak with well-informed knowledge and sound judgment of what he knew, nor of the general culture and reflection which might have produced a philosophic history. He was a XVth century citizen who had become attached to a princely house; and he had no outlook, no interests, beyond this relatively narrow circle.

He seems to have composed at least part of the book as he went along, and although he must have revised and polished it afterwards, it is very similar in tone to the English civil chronicles. There is the same interest in weather conditions, crops and prices, and such matters of daily material concern, and the same lack of any sense of proportion or arrangement in respect of how these details were to be combined with affairs of major national or international importance. De Roye is the descendant of

1 De Mandrot: Op. cit. pp. 132-3.

the anonymous Bourgeois de Paris in the middle of the century, and very inferior ~~xx~~ in intellectual alertness and independence of judgment to Nicholas de Baye at the beginning scribbling his random reflections in the margin of his record of the proceedings of the greffe civil of the Parlement.

G. The Last Chroniclers. Castel, who ~~x~~probably died on 19 February 1478,¹ had been succeeded by at least 1482 by Brother Mathieu Lebrun or Levrien, who died in 1518.² Hardly anything else is known about him, and it seems probable that his chronicle, if ever written, has not survived;⁴ at least it has not found its way into the later editions of the Great Chronicles, where the part subsequent to Louis XI is regularly supplied from Gaguin and his continuator ^ePierre Desrey. They of course may have been using some then-existing work by Levrien; but of this

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- 1 Ch. Samaran: "Études sandyonisiennes", in RHC, CIV (1943), pp. 3-100.
 - 2 Jules Guichard: "Recherches sur le chroniqueur Jean Castel", in RHC, Ser. 1, II (1840-1), pp. 461-77.
 - 3 Samaran, ut supra.
 - 4 Ch. Samaran: "Mathieu Levrien, chroniqueur de Saint-Denis", in RHC, XCIX (1938), pp. 125-31.

there is no proof. Levrien may have been succeeded by a yet more obscure Guillaume Danicot; and Jean Olivier, dying in the abbey of Saint-Denis in 1540, is described as "elemosinarius ac regis ac croniciis".¹

But in practice by the end of the XVth century there had ceased to be any vital connection between Saint-Denis and the office, although there continued to be historiographers royal. Octovien de Saint-Gelais and André de la Vigne must have had at least a temporary commission to record the Italian expedition of Charles VIII, and Jean d'Auton seems to have had some sort of official status when he wrote his Chroniques de Louis XII. Brantôme mentions a certain Paschal, who had been given "the honour and title of historiographer royal" to Henri II.² But these historiographers royal had become what they were to be in later centuries, the immediate servants of the king, retained to propagate such views of his policy and person as he pleased. There no longer existed an institution associated with the monarchy yet independent of it, bound as a solemn duty to set on

1 Ch. Samaran: "Études sandyonisiennes", in BEC, CIV (1943), pp. 5-100.

2 Gauvras, ed. L.J.W. Monmerqué (8 vols. Paris 1822-3), vol. II (Vies des hommes illustres français), p. 362-3.

record ^everything, good or evil, which was done by or occurred to it, and privileged by prescription and bound by conscience to pass its own moral and political judgments on the account.

3. The XVth Century.

Thus the course of French historiography in the XVth century, like that of many institutions and ideas in the age, was that of a vigorous tradition, deeply rooted in the convictions and needs of an earlier epoch, declining in validity and usefulness in a changing world. It is true that the Great Chronicles still enjoyed a formal esteem and even a measure of affectionate popularity for a surprisingly long time. It was still worth while for the printers to issue editions even in the next century. But to the reading public they were beginning to look rather daunting in length, and also a little old-fashioned and childish. It was not that people were yet actively critical of them; they did not so much demand something different as hint that they would like something in addition. Might it not be possible, while leaving the Great Chronicles in their position of monumental honour, to compress their substance into a book which should be more manageable and more readable?

It has already been observed that the so-called universal chronicles in practice on approaching their own times narrowed themselves to a single kingdom or even less. But this was not quite enough for the XVth century reader. They still tended to deal with too wide or too restricted an area, or if they happened to space themselves correctly, it was too accidentally and unsystematically, not from regular conscious intention.

Nor was the tone quite right. The mediaeval chroniclers, and to a lesser degree their imitators right into the XVth century, although they might in fact deal chiefly with their own country from such natural instinct or ^{lack} of information about anywhere else, did not set it in the centre of the stage on principle. They genuinely had other interests, other loyalties, modifying and sometimes even running counter to their national feelings. Most often these preoccupations were ecclesiastical, but they could be regional, as in the case of the aggressive anti-French Norman and Breton chronicles, and occasionally they concerned the fortunes of some noble house to which the author had attached himself. These methods and styles of composition did not disappear with the XVth century, but they decreased steadily in numbers, status and esteem.

In the earlier Middle Ages all this had done very

well, for those who then read were clerics or (exceptionally) some dilettante nobleman, altogether at one with the attitude of the works which they perused. But by the later XVth century the increasingly large literate public was composed chiefly of middle class laymen educated in the new cult of loyalty and patriotism. The old-fashioned chronicles would clearly have to be re-drafted in substance as well as in form before they could become acceptable.

This demand was in itself a perfectly natural development out of serious late-mediaeval historiography, and it could have been and to some extent was met by pursuance of this development along its own lines. Towards the end of the XVth century Nicole Gilles, notary and secretary of the king and Comptroller of the Treasury, in his Annales et Chroniques de France showed the course which it might have taken. The book is still mediaeval in its basic assumptions. It begins even before Creation, and proceeds in the familiar way through the Six Ages, the fabulous antiquities of the European peoples, and early Christian hagiography. But Gilles apologises for this digression on grounds of edification and instruction; and as soon as he settles down to dealing with the Franks the book becomes a coherent and

exclusive history of France, with no more on foreign affairs than is necessary for the intelligibility of the narrative.

It is true that it is still long and prolix and in parts extremely fabulous; Gilles has even improved on the Great Chronicles by episodes from Vincent de Beauvais, lives of the saints, and similar sources. But the tone in which even the most fantastic of these are treated is not what it would have been in the earlier Middle Ages. Gilles seems to have made up his mind, in the cynical spirit of a conscious populariser, that what his readers wanted was a variety of good stories; and he set out to satisfy this wish without scruple. Everything goes in: the history of Troy from Dares Phrygius; Brutus; the Crusade and Spanish expedition of Charlemagne; Dagobert and the martyrs; Pope Joan; and so on and so on. But Gilles himself is often clearly sceptical or simply indifferent as to their truth. Besides the habitual cautious: "As some say", "As is related", he not infrequently interjects a more specific caveat of his own. The marvels related of Arthur "seem to be for the most part fables"; as to the vision of Euthérius of

1 Les Annales et chroniques de France, ed. Denis Sauvage (Paris 1560), F. XII. R.

Orléans: "How that may be, nescio; Deus scit."¹

Moreover, with all its diffuseness, the book is not wholly lacking in a sense of proportion and taste. Gilles has dropped a number of the digressions and trifling episodes from his sources. The theme of the growth and glory of France is clearly conceived and steadily pursued; it knits the book into unity; and the additional information is built up around it for illustrative and ancillary purposes. In the Prologue Gilles had expressed ^{his} intention "to make extracts and draw up in brief whence came and proceeded the generations of these very noble kings of France", as "what is written about them, especially in the Great Chronicles, is so much blended with the acts and deeds of various other foreign kings and princes, and with so many incidents which occurred during their time and reign, that the multitude and confusion of subjects which are narrated in them prevents the reader from grasping and remembering the lineages"². This concern for a single purpose and the exclusion of all matter not in some way relevant to it, was a Humanist preoccupation, unfamiliar to the earlier Middle Ages, and indeed ~~farxixhatxmattax~~ to the XVth

1 Ibid. F. XXXVIII.R.

2 Ibid. F.I.R.

centuryⁿx historians who continued to write in the full mediaeval tradition.

Finally, underneath the sense of the marvellous and the supernatural characteristic of the Middle Ages, against which the Humanists reacted markedly though discreetly, and also underneath the mediaeval subservience to sources, from which the Humanists freed themselves less completely, Gilles from time to time reveals an instinctive good sense and wish to reasonable worthy of the best Humanist tradition. He had a genuine consciousness that facts, especially peculiar² facts, should not be left by themselves without explanation; and although some of his attempts at this are perhaps not wholly happy, as for instance how the Venerable Bede came by his name,¹ or why the inhabitants of Dorchester have tails,² many of the passages tracing causes and effects of events are serious and truly excellent. The book is not merely lively and well-told; it is matter for real regret that a mind so alert and intelligent should have felt it necessary to write down to his public in this drastic way, even though his accuracy in gauging their taste is testified to by the continued popularity of his book

1 Ibid. F.XXXV.R.

2 Ibid. F.XIV.R.

throughout the XVth century.¹

The precise date of its first appearance is not known. There is said to have been an edition in 1492, but this is ²dub^oted by Molinier, and Delisle maintains that the first was that of 6 December 1525.³ From the point of view of the impact of Humanism on French historiography, it would have been interesting to know whether it dates from before or after 1500; but this is a detail. The book is essentially typical of French late-mediaeval historiography, and is perhaps the best surviving example of how this style might have developed if left to itself.

As it was, it blended quite happily with the new Humanist theories in the moderate form in which they first permeated France in the XVth century; and it is as representatives, to different degrees, of this process of blending that Robert Gaguin and Paulus Aemilius form the subject of this study.

1 Hauser: Continuation of Molinier's Sources, vol. I, p. 28.

2 Sources, vol. V, p. 29.

3 "Documents parisiens de la Bibliothèque de Berne", in Mémoires de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Île-de-France, XLIII (1896), p. 263, n. 5.

II

THE COMPENDIUM SUPER FRANCORUM GESTIS
OF ROBERT GAGUIN.

1. Origin and Composition.

A. Origin. The life and literary position of Robert Gaguin have been dealt with exhaustively by Louis Thuasne in the Preface to his edition of Gaguin's letters.¹ Some slight modification may have to be made in its estimate of his status; Thuasne, like almost all biographers, has a tendency to exaggerate the importance and merits of his subject. But the study, admirable in its scholarship and accomplished in its exposition, is in all major respects likely to remain definitive; and it precludes any necessity for a general account of Gaguin here, except in so far as it may concern the Compendium Super Francorum Gestis.

When Jean Castel, the historiographer royal, died in 1478, Robert Gaguin was aged 44 or 45, the General Minister of the Holy Order of the Trinity for the Redemption of Captives, and a man of some mark in the literary world of Paris. He now addressed a letter to the Chancellor Pierre Doriolle, expatiating on the world-wide glories of French arms and piety, and lamenting that though there had been

1 Epistole et Orationes R. Gaguini (2 vols. Paris 1903-4).

French authors eloquent in their own tongue, none had as yet consecrated the name of France in the enduring dignity of Latin composition. "In so deeply love the praise of my country that I am often bitterly ashamed to see how its loftiest deeds are rendered obscure by carelessness of proper writing, when elegant style could set them on an equality with heaven and the gods." It would admittedly be difficult to unearth, clean and polish "stories so obscure and so deeply buried". But a beginning must be made at some stage in order to lay the foundations for the superior achievements of later ages; even the Roman historians were at first crude, and it was only by learning from their mistakes that Livy attained to his pre-eminent richness and purity. Nor was there any force in the argument often idly brought forward against history as a moral influence: that it is God who knows our deserts, and He did not set up prizes for the successful athletes by proclaiming their praises. The truth is that commended virtue grows and spreads like a seed, and when set before others as an example renders them like itself. It would therefore be fitting that the king should choose a man whom by his own knowledge or the advice of the wise he judges to be adequate for this ambitious task, and, "ignoring the whispers of malice",

entrust to him alone the duty of making memory of the high deeds of the French eternal by a learned book.¹

No appointment of a successor to Castel was immediately made, and some time later Gaguin wrote to the royal favourite Ambroise de Cambrai to complain of the strange neglect ~~of~~ by the French writers of the material afforded them by the life of Louis XI with its dramatic and profitable examples of the vicissitudes of Fortune and its accumulated renown and virtue. The great men of Greece and Rome, glorious in themselves, "have been yet further endowed by the lavishness of authors". Why should the French always seek something distant to praise and imitate, and overlook what grows ~~in~~ in their own house and garden? They had heroes and kings equalling any among those of antiquity, and "those examples ought to have more effect upon us which are provided by our own, not a foreign, state". Still, he admits that his whole argument could be at once demolished by the single quotation from Martial: "In steriles campos nolunt iuga ferre iuveni." Neither subject-matter nor talent is lacking; but who will labour without the inducement of reward? If the French

1 Ep. XXIII; Epistole, vol. I, pp. 252-5.

whibbbs found the munificent patrons of Aristotle and Virgil and Pliny, the deeds of their countrymen would not lie hidden but would be raised to unfading splendour.¹

Despite these hints, Gaguin was not appointed historiographer royal, and several years elapsed during which his interest in history seems to have expressed itself only in a few translations made for the young king Charles VIII. Then some time in the course of 1494, in order to distract² his mind from a painful illness, particularly at night, when he could not rest, he occupied himself for a year, in the intervals of his ordinary employments, in compiling an epitome "out of a long series of histories".² These, judging both by probability and by the shape taken by the completed Compendium, would have been in the main the chronicles preserved at Saint-Denis, which became available to the general public as soon as the official version had been chosen at the close of each reign. In addition he would have been able to draw on the library of the Mathurins, which he himself had had built and enriched with many books and manuscripts. He also had his own books, and

1 Ep. XXX; *ibid.* vol. I, pp. 278-81.

2 Eps. LXXVII, LXXVIII; *ibid.* vol. II, pp. 22-42.

could borrow from friends.¹

These circumstances were not in themselves favourable to the composition of a work of serious scholarship. The time was too short for adequate collection, sorting and arrangement of material in so wide a field. Gaguin, besides his religious duties and the administration of his Order, was teaching at the University of Paris and taking part in its diplomatic functions, even if he was not also engaged in other literary compositions or the political missions which he had occasionally fulfilled hitherto. And finally, his illness must have not only hampered his researches but materially diminished his powers of concentration.

It is thus well to make it clear from the outset that he was labouring under difficulties which in some measure explain the deficiencies of the book. It is of course true that a distinction must be drawn between the estimate of the historian and of the history. We may make allowances for the historian whom circumstances compel to produce something less good than he might have done; but this cannot make us pronounce the resultant history to be better than it is.

1 For the borrowing of books, v. Eps. XXI, XC; *ibid.* vol. I, pp. 247-8, vol. II, pp. 80-1.

B. Composition. The first edition of the Compendium (copy A) was published in Paris by Pierre Ledru on 30 September 1495. The colophon at the end misdates it 1499. There is a correction of this in the Errata, but apparently itself as an afterthought, for it occurs out of its proper place and at the foot of a column. Some copies have two additional Pp. of Errata, which seem not to have been used for the second edition. A reading has sometimes been left as it was;¹ obviously missing words have² been differently supplied. There are also instances of corrections apparently added after they had already been made in the text.³

The Note to the Reader at the beginning of the second edition tells Gaguin's opinion and the fate of this first edition. "After the printer had mutilated it for almost two years" he says, he had found it "vitiated by so many errors" that he would have wished, had it been possible, to recall the 500 copies already

1 P.LXXXI.R: "resistentibus Francis", not altered in second edition; Errata: "resistentibus hosti Francis."

2 P. CXXXI.R: "maria illum"; Errata: "maria selectis illum"; second edition: "maria delectis proceribus illum."

3 "In Compendium" in heading to Bk. I needlessly altered to "Compendium".

issued and consign them to everlasting oblivion.

Having lamented his misfortune, and doubted whether it should be imputed more to his inconsiderate choice or to the irresponsible carelessness of the printer, he ^{goes on} ~~proceeds~~:

"But now at last (as I hope) the work, corrected and enlarged by me, will proceed under a more auspicious star, through the great pains of Master Johann Trechsel the German, who is a man of substance and will undertake the charge of a second edition, having been chiefly induced to do so by the learned Josse Badius, whom he keeps in his house as proof-reader at an annual salary. Trechsel then by his trustworthiness and attentive care, and Badius by his diligent correction, will deserve well of the Reader, who (no longer outraged by the sparseness, meagreness and errors of that first edition) will justly be grateful to these more conscientious masters".

In a letter to Erasmus' friend Hermann dated 16 September [1496?], Gaguin had already expressed his dissatisfaction with an edition in which there was "hardly a page without mistakes" and a general intention of revising the book and then entrusting it to more skilful craftsmen capable of reproducing a correct work.¹ By 19 December, writing to the Carmelite Laurent ~~XXXX~~ Bureau, he was

1 Ep. LXXVII; Epistole, vol. II, p. 39.

in a position to make a more specific statement.

"Having revised my work from beginning to end and enlarged it by some useful additions, I have at the encouragement of Josse Badius entrusted it to a Lyonnais printer, and hope for a better edition as a result of his erudition and diligence."¹

This edition (copy B) was published by the printing house of Johann Trechsel of Lyon on 24 June 1497. It was attractively produced and in the main accurate. The quatrain at the end of A in which the Book addresses the Reader has been omitted; there has been addition of a poem by Josse Badius and a Table of the Kings of France; and Faustus Andrelinus is described not merely as poet laureate but "royal and laureate poet" (having been appointed official poet to Charles VIII between May and August 1496). In the text Gaguin has made some minor alterations, the most extensive and important occurring in the period of the regency and reign of Charles V. The only sign of the later date in the brief account of the reign of Charles VIII is a few additional notes on Fornovo.

In several other letters (without year dates but

1 Ep. LXXVIII; *ibid.* vol. II, p. 42.

presumably in the ~~xpssu~~ latter part of 1497) Gaguin refers to this Lyon edition and his hope that it will replace that produced so defectively at Paris. The explicit references in the letters seem to be confined to these two editions. But some time between A and the final recension at the beginning of 1501 (copy D) there appeared another edition (copy C), whose colophon runs that it was printed "in Paris at the charge of Master Durand Gerlier, with the careful correction of Master André Bocard, in the year of Christian piety 1497, 2 kalends of April".

Unlike the three other editions (which are all ~~per~~ perfectly distinct and contain within themselves evidence of the date and reason of the re-issue), this is for all practical purposes indistinguishable from B. There is addition of a letter and poem by Cornelius Gerard of Gouda; a slight difference in the make-up alters the folio references in the Table of Contents; and in the Note to the Reader the publishers' names have been altered. But in the text the variations are no more than might result from misprints in one or the other copy; there is no sign in either edition of Gaguin himself having introduced any.

In the following centuries C seems to have been

ifn anything better known and more authoritative than B. The continuators of Nigron¹ have not heard of B, and consider C the first (presumably deceived by the misdating of A), given by Gaguin to the² printers in 1495 but not appearing until 1497. Clément knows of B but calls it "very rare", and quotes several references to C although he has not seen it himself.

The date borne by C is not conclusive on the question of priority, even excluding the possibility of another misprint. In 1497 Easter Sunday fell on 26 March, in 1498 on 15 April, so that in either year 31 March would have been dated 1497. The usual practice has been to take the date at its face value, and in catalogues C is accordingly listed as preceding B.

Thuasne accepts this priority without discussing it. His reading of the situation is that having charged Trechsel with the second edition Gaguin at the same time (perhaps rendered suspicious by his first unlucky experience) entrusted it to Gerlier, and that owing to some delay at Lyon, for unknown causes, the Paris edition appeared first. But there are a number of objections to this.

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- 1 Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des hommes illustres dans la république des lettres (48 vols. Paris 1729-45), vol. XLIII, pp. 1-30.
2 Bibliothèque curieuse historique et critique (9 vols. Göttingen 1750-60), vol. II, pp. 3-17.

(i) Gaguin in his letters never mentions C, and always refers to B as the second edition. In a letter of 19 November [1497?] he speaks of "the volume which was printed in Paris" in the singular and as opposed to that more recently issued at Lyon.¹ In the Note to the Reader also, where B has "second edition" C has "another ~~(denue)~~ (denue) edition". Denue can of course mean "second", as "another" can in English. But it is evasive compared to the explicit secundus of B, and suggests the desire to equivocate.

(ii) P.S. Allen² bases his conviction of B's priority on (a) this terminology of Gaguin's. (b) Both B and C (not A) contain some verses by Josse Badius Ascensius, the presence of which in C Allen maintains is explicable only if C was copied from B, not if they appeared simultaneously and in competition. But though Badius was working for Trechsel and doubtless would not have given his composition to a rival concern, there seems no inherent impossibility in his having written the poem at some fairly early point after the second edition had been set on foot; and in this case (on the theory that Gaguin

1 Ep. LXXIV; Epistole, vol. II, pp. 62.

2 Opus Epistolarum Desiderii Erasmi Roterdami, ed. P.S. Allen, H.A. Allen, and W. Garrod (11 vols. Oxford 1906-47), vol. I, pp. 148-9 n.

himself deliberately gave it to both firms) both might equally well have derived it from a common source.

(c) C and not B contains a letter and poem by Cornelius Gerard of Gouda. He is known to have been in Paris from the autumn of 1497 until 16 August 1498 as a member of the commission for the reform of the abbey of St. Victor invited from the chapter of Windesheim; and Allen thinks that the compositions were offered during this period.

(iii) Th. Renouard¹ also brings forward the "second edition", the presence of Badius' composition and absence of Gerard's, which he says Gaguin would have had no reason to delete (though considerations of space might have operated here). He adds:

(a) "1 February 1497" in the Note to the Reader (usually regarded as an error for 1496) is perfectly correct for a Lyonnais edition, where the Roman dating is always used. C, though its own date is Old Style, has thoughtlessly copied this. (b) Gaguin would not have been so impatient to get copies of the book from Lyon in

1 Bibliothèque des impressions et des œuvres de Josse Badius Recensius (3 vols. Paris 1908), vol. I, pp. 13-5.

August 1497¹ if he had had the Paris edition at hand.

(c) C would have had to be almost completed before B was even begun; for Badius was in Paris on 15 March 1497 in search of the MS. of Avicenna which Trechsel was about to publish, and so could not have been on the spot to supervise the work as he promised. But even if this is so (and Renouard's chronology rests on some rather elaborate conjecture), a prolonged hold-up over B would not have been impossible if Trechsel had other work on hand; a little later in the year the printing of Avicenna was to block the issue of other books. If on the other hand Gerlier's press happened to be free, there was ~~not~~ nothing to prevent the publication going straight forward. It might indeed be argued plausibly that it was precisely some such delay at Lyon which drove Gaguin to give his book to the Paris firm.

(iv) In his letter to Hermann Gaguin² gives as an additional reason for a second edition that he does not like "the type which is used by our present-day French printers". But C is printed in a mixed Gothic type essentially similar to that of A, whereas B with its clear, almost modern, type represents just the change

1 Ep. IXXIX; Epistole, vol. II, pp. 44-8.

2 V. p. 77.

which one would expect Gaguin to desire.

(v) In its adaptation to fit the different firm, the Note to the Reader runs easily enough while merely substituting one publisher's name for another. But the necessary omission of the references to Badius has carried away with it the part of the sentence in which the Reader is introduced, so that the "who" belonging to him in the next clause is transferred to Bocard, to the total confusion of all sense and intelligibility.

(vi) In all three texts there are a number of misprints, many being plain cases of mis-spelling or omission, with no significance, clearly due to the mechanical negligence of the printer at a particular moment and in no way induced by any association of logic or even proximity which was likely to be repeated from copy to copy.

Now, (a) some of these are common to B and C and not to A, for example "hos Conciaco" (B. LXXXVI.V; C. LXXVII.R), where A has correctly "hos dies Conciaco" (LXXIII.V); "Yonam Sequana" (B. LXXXVII.R; C. LXXVII.R), where A has correctly "Yona Sequanam" (LXXXIII.R); "Ludovicus Blesensis" (B. LIX.V; C. LIII.R.), where A has correctly "Carolus Blesensis" (LXVIII.V).

From this it would appear that either B copied C or C B, rather than that they were drawn independently from a common source. It seems hardly within the bounds of possibility that in such a number of cases the same senseless mistake should have been made by the printer at exactly the same point; whereas it would have been simple enough that if the printer copying from A had allowed his attention to wander, the third printer copying from B or C (as the case might be) should through carelessness or diffidence have reproduced the blunder without attempting to amend it.

(b) A number of these misprints (though a smaller one) are common to A and B but not to C. A (XXXIIII.V) and B (XXIX.R) have Carolus, where C, followed by D and the later editions, has correctly Ludovicus ^{XXV.V} (~~XXXIIII.R~~). The same mistake occurs a few lines previously in A (XXXIIII.R); B has here corrected it, but missed the repetition.

From this it would appear that C had copied B rather than B C. An initial mistake in A might be copied by either or both (there are instances running through all three copies); but once it had been corrected in any it is scarcely conceivable that the identical mistake could be replaced in the identical position by the third printer.

The single example of an error shared by A and C and not by B is archydiacono (A. LVIII.V; C. XLV.R.), where B has correctly archidyacono (L.V). But this, although curious in that it occurs in the same place in each text, is in itself a mistake happening very easily by the mere confusion of a set of type, as in the far more striking cases of "regin Caraolus" (D. CVIII.R) for "regina Carolus" (C. LXXIII.R), and even "mapifestantes...nerditos" (D. CXI.R) for "manifestantes...perditos" (C. LXXV.R.).

Single errors have no strong significance in this connection, as correction could occur at any stage. But there are a considerable number of instances of B preserving a correct version from A where C has corrupted it.

Another case of a printer's error of a slightly different kind could scarcely have been produced by coincidence. Although the text of the Contents in B and C is the same, the foliation is different. B has an entry under F. XVII. In C the equivalent F. is XIII, but here also it is given as XVII, although falling between Ff. XIII and XV. It is difficult to see any other interpretation of this than that C was copying B.

There remains the further problem of the character and history of G. Clement, who appears to have accepted its date as 1497, and is therefore puzzled by the "second edition" in B, expresses the view that C "did not come from our Author and was entirely unknown to him".¹ It is true that if C was published in March 1497 we would expect to find some record of the progress of the work in the letters. But the Epistole were published in 1498, and had been more or less ready for the press since the autumn of 1497; so that if C was not published until March 1498, it is not only natural but almost inevitable that references to it should be absent.

Gaguin however in one isolated instance does refer to a third edition, though without specifying the date or place of issue. "The compendium of my histories has now gone into a third edition. But since we published it in abbreviated form, its conciseness displeases some people; so they urge me to expand it and amplify the shortest parts. I have decided to consult the satisfaction of my readers and extend the narrow places,

1. Bibliothèque curieuse, vol. IX, p. 12.

adding a few things which the history seems to require."¹
This is dated simply 27 June; Thuasne adds 1497, but
purely on the strength of this reference and to fit his
assumption of C's priority. There seems no impossibility
in its being 1498, if this was a late addition to the
Epistole.

It certainly seems odd that in 1497 or 1498
Gaguin was already planning the revision of the
Compendium which did not appear until 1501; although
it may be observed that the phrasing of the passage
bears a striking resemblance to the Preface of D. The
more natural interpretation would apply it to the
expansion of A into B. But though the passage is
rendered obscure by the equivocal sense of some of the
words (iam might mean "now", "now at last", "just now",
"already"; offendit "displeases" or "displeased";
"constitui" "I have decided" or "I decided"), it is
difficult to read ~~xxxxxx~~ it as a whole as placing the
expansion in the past rather than the future.

But unless we insist on a misprint of "third"
for "second", which we have no authority for, the
passage in its simple and obvious significance
removes the argument of Gaguin's total silence as to
a third edition; and there is little else to support

1 Ep. LXXIX; Epistole, vol. II, pp. 42-3.

the inherent improbability of Clement's theory. If C was published without Gaguin's authorisation, it could hardly have been unknown to him. He was living in Paris, and throughout 1497 he was in professional relations with Bocard and Gerlier. And if he had known, we presumably would know also. The negative and inconclusive argument of silence can be used on either side of the question. Either C was published in 1497, and we would expect some comment in the letters on this unauthorised version; or it was published in 1498, and it is only natural that there should be no explicit reference to it.

In addition, whenadius finally refused to publish the Epistole, Gaguin, some time after 1 October 1497,³ and probably after April 1498,² entrusted the publication to this same Durand Gerlier, which seems very unlikely on Clement's theory. This would apply if C were published in March 1497 (and we really only need this explanation if C preceded B and the treatment of B as the second edition thus becomes embarrassing), and probably even if it did not come out until March 1498. Thuasne gives August 1498 as the probable date of

1 The date of the last (dated) letter included in the first edition.

2 V. p. 45.

Gerlier's first edition of the Epistole¹. The history of their publication is obscure; but there seems little likelihood that the first edition came out before 1498.

Finally, there is reason to believe that D was copied not from B but from C, although B had been Badius' own charge at Lyon, and we would expect him to have ~~again~~ prepared the text again, as he was in Paris at the time and in association with Jean Petit, who published D. A number of errors similar to those already described in connection with A, B and C (typographical slips with no rational cause which could lead to their repetition) occur in C and D and not in B (and usually not in A either where it contains the passage in question). Praecipuus brother of St. Rémi features in B's list of the distinguished prelates of the reign of Clovis (IIII.R). C, perhaps deceived by the absence of a capital letter and the existence of praecipuus as an ordinary word, has amended this to the incomprehensible precibus (III.V), which is repeated by D (VI.V). There are other cases, such as eidenque (C. XXXV.R; D. LIII.V) for fidemque (B. XL.R), and seditionem (C. IX.R; D. LXXXIX.V) for deditionem (B. LXVII/V), and also places where D has attempted to

1 Epistole, Preface, vol. I, p. 138.

emend an error in C for which it could have found the correct version in B.

Thus in the difficult passage on the treachery of Raymond of Antioch both A (XLIII.V) and B (XXXVII.R) have: "ita ut insidias regi tendere timeretur." This is perfectly intelligible though possibly doubtful syntax and certainly not very good style. C, perhaps simply through some muddling of type, has changed this to nitteretur (XXXIII.R), which is impossible as it stands, and even if corrected to nitteret (the ur occurs merely as a suspension, which could be a mistake) would be a piece of very bad grammar. D, naturally unable to restore timeretur by conjecture, has ingeniously and neatly emended it to nitteretur (XLIX.V), which is good sense and a legitimate though slightly unusual construction. It should however be observed that in A, B and C the sentence is immediately followed by the statement that therefore (quamobrem) Louis VII left Antioch secretly to evade Raymond's machinations. But D interpolates a passage to the effect that therefore (itaque) Raymond, for the purpose of these machinations, alienated the affections of his niece Eleanor of Aquitaine from her husband. Each of these versions follows logically from its own preceding

verb, and would fit less well (though not badly* with the other. So if D made its addition before dealing with the emendation the choice of a slightly different word might have been deliberate, even if D had used a copy with timeretur. But nitor is not a specially obvious rendering of "attempt" or "contrive", and the similarity of the lettering with mitteretur makes it likely that one word was suggested by the other. The double t is specially noteworthy; the later editions, which preserve the word, have deleted it.

In describing the first manifestation of the insanity of Charles VI B uses the phrase: "Regem sequebantur adolescentes duo ferentes lanceam alter: alter cassidem. Qui lanceam gestabat..." (LXXIX.V). C, not observing the construction, seems to have regarded the double alter as unintentional, and has dropped the second (LXX.V), which ruins the grammar, and would suggest, if anything, the presence of three pages instead of two. D has made a not very successful attempt at emendation by shifting the position of the single alter and changing the punctuation, so that it appears to be attached to the second sentence rather than the first: "ferentes lanceam cassidem alter, qui lanceam gestabat..." (CIIII.V), which is incomprehensible.

Naturally D has not always been led astray by C. But this is at most a negative argument. No number ~~1~~ of corrections of C would outweigh a single established borrowing of an error from it, unless perhaps one or more could be proved to be absolutely impossible without recourse to B. In point of fact, many are extremely obvious, and none are beyond the bounds of intelligent conjecture.

A final argument comes from the same point of ~~2~~ foliation so significant as to the priority of B over C. B in giving its reference to F. XVII adds: "& de Ebroyno ibidem." In C this takes the form: "& de Ebroyno fol' XV." D not merely gives the reference to F. XVII, which is as wrong for it as for C; it also says: "fol' XV" and not: "ibidem".

That D should thus have used C is undeniably odd by any showing. But by 1500 Badius was established in Paris, having made a total breach, accompanied with considerable ill-feeling, with the Lyon firm, so that neither he nor perhaps Gaguin was likely to apply to it for a copy of B if they themselves had none at hand. Moreover, at any rate for the publication of D, Hadrin Gerlier, the publisher of C, was associated with Jean Petit; and it would afford a perfectly natural explanation of the mystery if Gerlier

had provided a copy. But this, intelligible if C was authorised by Gaguin, would be quite inconsistent with a surreptitious publication by Gerlier.

But if Gaguin authorised both editions, why did he abandon the Lyon firm with which he had been fully satisfied? The answer may be simply that Trechsel could not take on this subsidiary edition during the winter of 1497-8. In October Gaguin had sent Badius the Epistole, publication of which Badius had long been pressing on him.¹ But first there was a long delay because the presses were occupied with the vast edition of Avicenna; then towards the middle of May 1498 Trechsel died; Badius quarrelled with his heirs; and although the actual breach and his removal to Paris did not occur until the beginning of the following year, he returned the MS. to Gaguin, feeling unable to take responsibility for it in the altered conditions of the firm.

If Gaguin had asked for another edition of the Compendium in February or March 1498, Badius would surely have refused, knowing that he could give no undertaking as to when it would come out, and perhaps aware of Trechsel's failing health and its probable

1 Ep. II; *ibid.* vol.I, pp. 174-6.

consequences.^e Gaguin then, unable to place his book in the expert care which he would have wished, might have chosen to give it to a Paris printer of good reputation, his neighbour in the Rue des Mathurins, who would at least be under his immediate supervision, exactly as he did a few months later with the Epistole.

There is no reference to such negotiations in the letters, and in a letter to Badius of 14 April [1498?] Gaguin was still assuming that the Epistole would be published at Lyon.¹ But we have no reason to suppose that we possess anything like all Gaguin's letters during the winter of 1497-8; indeed this very letter implies the existence of a previous correspondence on the subject which is not included. If Badius was in Paris at the beginning of 1498,² something might have passed by word of mouth. In the letter, while urging Badius to press the work forward, Gaguin acknowledges his explanation of the delay being caused by Avicenna as having been given some time previously.

1 Ep. LXXXVIII; *ibid.* vol. II, pp. 65-7.

2 V. p. 83.

Finally, there remains the possibility that Gaguin, having entrusted one book to the Lyon firm, simply assumed that there could be no question of their taking on another until it had come out, and accordingly sent the Compendium to Gerlier without even offering it at Lyon; though his confidence in Badius and Trechsel and his well-justified lack of confidence in Paris printers make this proceeding on his part a little strange.

The precise history of C thus remains conjectural. It may be observed, however, that the succession of events here suggested accords in two respects with the dating of C in 1498.

In the first place, in making his choice of a Paris publisher for the Epistole in the summer of 1498, Gaguin gave them to the same firm of Gerlier which had handled C. He might have made his digression to Lyon between having one book published by them in March 1497 and another in August 1498; but it would seem more natural that having been compelled (for whatever reason) to abandon the Lyon firm at the end of 1497 he proceeded to give both the books which he had on hand to Gerlier, one in March and the other in August 1498.

This would have been less likely if the Epistole had been the first to come out; for they presented

almost a repetition of the misadventures of the first
2 edition of the Compendium . Gaguin had to arrange for
a re-issue in November; and this might well have ~~disen-~~
discouraged him from entrusting the second book to the
same firm. But C, though less attractively produced than
B, is reasonably accurate and satisfactory, apart from the
reversion to the older type which Gaguin disliked. But
Roman type was still something of a novelty in France;
Trechsel had had to have his set sent specially from
Italy. The less advanced Gerlier may not have possessed
one; and Gaguin would know that it would not be easy to
find a Paris firm which did.

Secondly, this inconsistency in workmanship may be
explained by the state of the copy provided for the
printers. Gaguin had only one copy of the Epistole,
which he asked Badius to return to him carefully for this
reason; and it was his own "architype", not even the fair
copy of a professional scribe, and may well have been in
the same state as other author MSS. On the other hand,
if C was taken from the clear and correct print of B,
the printer would only have to pay adequate attention to
the text before him, and would not be called upon for

1 Ep. LXXXIV; Epistole, vol. II, pp. 58-60.

the higher functions of deciphering, interpretation or judgment. This, then, if the correct explanation, would afford additional evidence for C's direct derivation from B.

No problems of this kind are involved in the fourth edition. It was considerably altered and enlarged by Gaguin, a whole extra Book being added to cover the reign of Charles VIII and that of Louis XII down to 1500. It was published by Durand Gerlier and Jean Petit on 13 January 1501, and was probably the last edition supervised by Gaguin, who died on 22 May 1501. There was a re-issue, possibly in the course of the same year (copy D¹), with no differences except the disappearance of the dedication to Pierre Burry and transfer of the Praeludium of Montanatus to the end, and the omission of the last paragraph recording the sentence passed on those held responsible for the fall of the Pont-Neuf, which is restored in the later editions. But we do not know that Gaguin saw this or was in any way responsible for it. D has therefore been adopted as the standard edition for this study, and unless otherwise mentioned citations refer to it.

2. Sources and Method.

Gaguin's plan in the composition of the Compendium was simple. As was virtually inevitable for a XVth century Frenchman, his foundation was the series of chronicles connected with Saint-Denis, first the Great Chronicles properly speaking, and then their more independent continuations.

But an important and rather surprising peculiarity must be noted here. It has already been mentioned that in the late XIVth and early XVth century a new Latin draft was made of the Saint-Denis store of chronicles (Bib. Maz. MSS. 553, 554), followed in the later XVth century by versions of the Religieux and Chartier designed in the same spirit as a universal chronicle (Bib. nat. MS. lat. 5959), and that this group was accepted as in some sense official and as such reproduced by later authors. Moreover, when Pasquier Bonhomme printed the first edition of the vernacular Great Chronicles in Paris in 1477, he seems to have used not any of the existing versions but a new translation made from this group of recensions, and in this he was followed by the next edition (Antoine Vérard, Paris 1493).

Now, Gaguin, in taking the Saint-Denis Chronicles as his foundation, certainly used this version. This emerges

from a host of points of ~~xxx~~ resemblance, where Gaguin differs from the ordinary vernacular Great Chronicles. A few examples may be given from the more elaborate cases in which oddities in the Compendium can be explained by reference to the printed editions.

(i) Aimoin in telling the story of the murder of the grandsons of Clovis uses the phrase: "Cui [sc. to Clotildis] veredarius sic inquit."¹ In the edition of Johannes Nicotius veredarius is printed with a capital V,² and the compiler of the Great Chronicles has accordingly rendered it as a proper name, Veridaires.³ This in the printed text has become Uridanes,⁴ and in the Compendium appears as Uridanus.⁵ Gaguin, though a better Latin scholar than the compiler of the Great Chronicles, might also have been misled by what is an unusual term for "messenger"; but there seems little possibility of his arriving independently at the same quite remote corruption.

1 Historia Francorum, Bk. 2, chap. XII.

2 Paris 1567, p. 100.

3 Les Grandes Chroniques de France, Bk. 2, chap. IX, ed. Jules Viard (SNF, 9 vols. Paris 1920-37), vol. I, p. 130.

4 Les Grands Croniques de France, Bk. 2, chap. IX (Antoine Verard, Paris 1493), vol. I, F.XXIII.R.
3 vols.

5 ~~XXI.V~~ (misprinted XX in text). F. XVIII.R.

(ii) ¹The Gesta Dagoberti, followed by ²Aimoin, speaks of the inheritance of the sons of Sadragesillus being confiscated by the judgment of the nobles in accordance with "the Roman law", because they failed to avenge their father's death although it was in their power. The manuscript Great Chronicles repeat this as it stands. ³In the printed edition the passage runs: "Et pource quilz sauoient bien que leur pere auoit este occis pensaient bien vengier sa mort ne plus nen faisoient. Les barons iugerent selon les loix quilz nauoient rien en heritage de leur pere pource quilz estoient mauuais filz et forlignables."⁴ Gaguin's eye has been caught by the equivocal phrase here italicised; and on the strength of it he has built up a story which in some respects is the exact opposite of the earlier versions: "Dagobertus Sadragesillo qui pedagogus eius fuerat mortem procuravit. Quam cum ulcisci liberi eius minarentur, ex procerum sententia paterna possessione privantur, rebus omnibus ad fiscum traductis."⁵ One piece

1 Chap. XXXV (RHGF, vol. II, Paris 1739), p. 589.

2 Historia Francorum, Bk. 4, chap. XXVIII, ed. J. Nicotius (Paris 1567), pp. 354-5.

3 Bk. 5, chap. XV; vol. II, p. 160.

4 Vol. I, F. IXXXV.V.

5 F. XXI.V (misprinted XX in text).

of misund^{er}standing, the assumption that it was the threat of vengeance which was the offence, not the neglect to pursue it, has led Gaguin to the fanciful development that it was Dagobert who was responsible for the death of Sadragesillus, which none of the sources suggest in any way.

(iii) Considerable mystery attaches to the precise circumstances of the last days of Crannus or Cramires, the rebellious son of Clotair I.

(a) Gregory of Tours describes him as fleeing to the "count of the Bretons" (called variously Chonober, Coonobro, Chonoc, Chanao, by the ^{manuscripts} ~~editions~~), who perishes in the final battle, while Crannus himself is "strangled with a kerchief" before the house is burnt over his head.¹ In an earlier passage Gregory had said that Crannus married the daughter of a certain Wiliacharius,² and in speaking of his sojourn in Brittany mentions "Wiliacharius the priest" (sacerdos) taking refuge in the church of St. Martin of Tours, which he and his wife burn³ "because of the sins of the people and the profanities (ludibria) committed in it". In his De

1 Historia Ecclesiastica Francorum, Bk. 4, chap. XX (PLC, vol. LXXI, Paris 1879), cols. 283-6.

2 Ibid. Chap. XVII; col. 283.

3 Ibid. chap^{XX}; col. 285.

Virtutibus Sancti Martini, Wiliacharius the priest (ppesbyter), having incurred the anger of Clotair through the perfidy of Crannus, takes refuge in the church of St. Martin and is imprisoned there, but his chains fall off when ~~he~~¹ invokes the protection of the saint. Theoda his daughter was also cured of some disease of the foot by the intervention of St. Martin.²

(b) "Fredegarius" in his epitome of Gregory's history has adopted the reading of some copies of "socer³ eius" [sc. of Crannus] for sacerdos, which would agree with Gregory's statement that Crannus married the daughter of Wiliacharius, though as Wiliacharius is elsewhere called presbyter the emendation is scarcely requisite.

(c) The Gesta Regum Francorum names the daughter, Chalda,⁴ speaks of the church of ~~ix~~ St. Martin being burnt through the sins of Willeharius and his wife, and calls Cunibertus "king of the Bretons".⁵ Otherwise it follows Gregory of Tours verbally.

(d) Aimoin says Crannus fled to "Conabus prince of the Bretons". He calls Vuillecarius "duke of Aquitaine"

1 Bk. 1, chap. XXIII (PLC, vol. LXXI, Paris 1879), col. 931.

2 Ibid. Bk. 3, chap. XIII, col. 974.

3 Chap. LIV (PLC, vol. LXXI, Paris 1897), col. 593.

4 RHGF, vol. II (Paris 1789),³⁹ p. 559.

5 Ibid.

and gives him a daughter Calte,¹ but the wording leaves it obscure whose wife she was: "Chrannus...ad Conabum... confugit...cui nobilitas coniugis, odiorum suppeditabat materiam." Vuillecarius takes refuge in St. Martin's; but it is implied ("admotis ignibus") that it was set on fire by Clotair's troops when they failed to persuade him to come out, and he perishes in it.² This is repeated by the subsequent versions; but Gregory does not say so, and in fact implies the contrary. Aimoin restores his story of the previous strangling of Crannus, which "Fredegarius" had omitted.

(e) The manuscript Great Chronicles call Conaber king of Lesser Britain, and (presumably deceived by Aimoin's equivocal expressions) make him the husband of Calthe, daughter of Guillercaire duke of Aquitaine.³ They are explicit that the church was set on fire by Clotair's troops: "Lors bouterent le feu ou mostier⁴ et ardirent l'eglyse et le duc Guillercaire dedenz..." Crannus is ⁵ burnt alive, the reference to his being "forment loiez",

1 Historia Francorum, Bk. 2, chap. XX; p. 133a.

2 Ibid.

3 Bk. 2, chap. XIX; vol. I, p. 174.

4 Ibid. p.175.

5 Ibid. p. 177.

which Aimoin does not mention, being perhaps a misreading of "orario sugillatus". Neither Aimoin nor the Great Chronicles mention the fate of Conabus.

(f) The printed text says that Cramires fled to "la petite Ambleure" to Thonobart king of that land, who had married a very high-born lady called Chaste, daughter of Guillertaine duke of Aquitaine. "Cil sen fouyt" to St. Martin's and is burnt there when Clotair's troops fail to drive him out. Clotair enters Brittany (sic), and Cramires joins battle with him helped by Conabunt "the king of Brittany". Only "the greater part of the Bretons" is described as killed, without specific reference to Conabunt. The fate of Cramires is verbally as in the manuscript Great Chronicles.¹

(g) From this strange medley of persons² and places³ Gaguin has evolved the following: "Habito igitur delecto militum, [Clotarius] in rebellem progreditur. Quem venientem audiens Crannus ad Conobaldum sibi finitimum Aquitaniae regem pergit; quo adiutore patrem proelio exciperet. Sed Conobaldus cum in sacellum divi Martini

1 Bk. 2, chap. XIX; vol. I, F. XXXI.R.V.

2 Thonobart has turned into Athonobart on the second reference, owing to the accidental juxtaposition of an a. Cf. on Bolo, p.111.

3 "la petite Ambleure" is peculiar to this version, and seems quite inexplicable.

Clotarium fugiens se recepisset, neque indullis pollicitationibus educi possit, immisso igni pariter cum sacello crematur...Mox Crannus nihil moratus ad Britonum comitem Senabutum se contulit...Inter quos bona Britonum pars caesa est, Cranno cum uxore et liberis intercepto. Quem in scamno per lictorem alligatum cremari cum uxore et liberis rex iubet."¹

It is clear that although each successive version has laid down a fresh deposit of confusion and moved a stage farther from the truth, it is only the last, the printed edition, which could have lured Gaguin to substitute Conobaldus for Wiliacharius as the victim in the church, and hence compelled him, in order to finish the story, to duplicate him into a "Senabutus "count" of Brittany as a fresh actor in the drama. In the three first editions of the Compendium Senabutus is spelt with a C; it is only in the fourth that Gaguin, perhaps feeling the names uncomfortably similar, changed it to an S. He was here evidently trying to rationalise a difficulty which reference to the earlier sources could have elucidated for him.

These examples, and still more the countless minor ones (variants as to spelling, figures, and so forth)

1 F. IX.R.

seem so much the result of mechanical verbal copying as to suggest that what Gaguin used was not merely the translation of this new adaptation but one of the printed editions. As against this, however, it should be observed that the story of the fate of Herbert of Vermandois occurs in Bib. Maz. MS. 553 and in the Compendium,¹ but not in the printed editions.

A final point may be adduced in support of this theory. The printed editions for the reign of Charles VI follow Juvenal des Ursins literally, and so does Gaguin. This in itself would not be conclusive; the curious relation of Juvenal to the Great Chronicles has already been discussed. But the closeness with which Gaguin follows Juvenal as reproduced in the printed editions is at least suggestive; he even preserves Juvenal's interpolations into the Religieux relating to his family² and his father³ where they have been included in the printed editions.

Thus ~~in~~ (i) the foundation of the Compendium may be taken to have been the Great Chronicles in the new version drafted in Bib. Maz. MSS. 553, 554 and Bib. nat. MS. lat. 5959 and reproduced in the printed editions. Having made

1 Pf. XXXIX.V-XL.R.

2 F. CII.V.

3 F. CV.R,V.

a brief resumé of this lengthy narrative, Gaguin (ii) proceeded, particularly in the later editions, to check and amplify it by reference to the sources upon which the Great Chronicles were based. Finally, he (iii) made additions from outside sources and (for the later part) from personal knowledge.

This plan was logical, and Gaguin could have done a good deal worse. How far it would be satisfactory in practice depends in the first place (a) on the trustworthiness of the group of primary sources, and secondly (b) on the extension given to stage (iii), the supplementation from independent sources.

(a) In the case of a compilation like the Great Chronicles, the first of these requisites naturally varies with the varying sources drawn upon by it throughout its whole range. In particular it changes its character to some extent at the point where the Great Chronicles properly speaking are replaced by contemporary continuations.

(1) The first of these periods is that for which the Great Chronicles are strictly a compilation, drawing on sources too remote to be influenced by the personal knowledge of the compiler. This extends in its full form from the beginning of the book to the end of the reign of Louis IX, and thence with some modification to the end of

the reign of Philippe VI. This is the part to which Gaguin's method was properly applicable; and as it was presumably that with which he began, it may have suggested the method to him. It would also have the merits of convenience. Such access as he had to the Saint-Denis records would apply to all equally, and he would thus be freed from the necessity of seeking out remote sources, which the circumstances of the composition of the Ramx Compendium rendered peculiarly difficult. This first period in its turn falls into two parts: (i) where the Great Chronicles were themselves third-hand, depending on the compilation of Aimoin; (ii) where they drew on direct sources.

(i) Gaguin certainly went behind the Great ~~Chron~~ Chronicles as far¹ as Aimoin. He quotes in full¹ from him the epithets of Clovis by St. Rémi² and of St. Germain by Chilperic.³ Aimoin says that in the reign of Meroveus the Huns ravaged round Metz, Trèves and Tongres,⁴ and Gaguin says Tongres and Metz⁵ in place of the Trèves and Tongres

1 F. VI.V.

2 Historia Francorum, Bk. 1, chap. XXV; pp. 73-4.

3 Ibid. Bk. 3, chap. XVI; p. 172.

4 Ibid. Bk. 1, chap. VI; p. 28.

5 F. IIII.R.

of the Great Chronicles.¹

The case is less clear in regard to Aimoin's sources. But Gaguin seems at least to have looked at Gregory of Tours. He cites him several times by name, and has made some additions and corrections which there is no reason to doubt are derived from him. Only Gaguin² and Gregory,³ not Aimoin or the Great Chronicles, name the first messenger, Archadius, sent to Clotildis by her sons. But he has missed relevant facts in Gregory. In his reference to the first conversion of England by a French princess, he says that, "since the name of neither the king nor the daughter is recorded by the authors", he has conjectured on chronological grounds that it was Chilperic or Clotair I, as Augustine was sent to England in the reign of Clotair II.⁴ But Gregory, though he says nothing of the conversion in this connection, and does not name the princess or her husband the "son of a certain king of Kent", is explicit that she was the daughter of Charibert and Ingeborg.⁵

1 Bk. 1, chap. VI; vol. I, p. 26.

2 F. VIII.R.

3 Historia Ecclesiastica, Bk. 3, chap. XVIII; col. 257.

4 F. IX.V.

5 Bk. 9, chap. XXVI; col. 505.

Gaguin has also missed errors which have crept into ~~into~~ others' rendering of Gregory. Gregory mentions a certain Ullo or Ollo count of Bourges.¹ As the name happened to occur first in the phrase "ab Ollone", an absent-minded scribe divided the letters differently and next time wrote it Bolo, and as such it appears in Aimoin and the series of chronicles derived from him. Gaguin has not² corrected this by comparing the two passages in the original, where they occur within a few lines.

Where he does emend, it is in a curiously partial fashion. Gregory relates that a council was held at "Brennacum" [sc. Braine] to investigate the charges brought against him by count Leudastes of Tours.³ Aimoin has turned this into "Britinnacum",⁴ and the Great Chronicles have accordingly rendered it as "Breteuil".⁵ In BC Gaguin follows Aimoin,⁶ but in D he reverts to Brennacum.⁷

1 Bk. 7, chap. XXXVIII; col. 443.

2 F. XVI.V.

3 Bk. 5, chap. L; col. 367.

4 Historia Francorum, Bk. 3, chap. XLIII; p. 212.

5 Grandes Chroniques, Bk. 3, chap. XIII; vol. I, p. 284.

6 C: F. VIII.R.

7 F. XIII.R.

But at the same time he follows Aimoin and the Great Chronicles in saying that the charge with which Leudastes began was a project of handing Tours over to Gontran, which is nonsense; what Gregory said was "ad filium Sigiberti"¹, that is, Childebert.

These instances would seem to suggest that if Gaguin handled the book in itself, and did not merely know it from extracts in another compilation, he dipped into it rather than made it the subject of attentive study.

There is no definite evidence for his use of the Gesta Regum Francorum, "Fredegarius" and his continuators, the Liber Pontificalis, or the Letters of Gregory the Great.

Paulus Diaconus on the other hand he uses freely, and treats with a somewhat unexpected respect, preferring his testimony on occasion to that of Gregory of Tours², and even to that of Gregory of Tours, Aimoin and the Great Chronicles combined.³

(ii) When Aimoin ends in 654 the structure of the Great Chronicles and hence of the Compendium becomes much simpler. There were continuations, but they had

1 Historia Ecclesiastica, Bk. 5, chap. XLVIII; col. 363.

2 F. XII.V. (fate of Chilperic's daughter Nigegonda).

3 F. XVII.R (22 dukes sent by Childebert to Italy at the request of the emperor Maurice, where they all lay 20).

more of a contemporary character and were less compilations; and although the Great Chronicles continued to use them, they were henceforward in the main dependent on single rather than ~~multiple~~^{complex} sources. Gaguin thus had now only a double instead of a triple process to carry out; and with the greater ease of this, and also with the need of compensating for the decrease in number by an increase in quantity, he draws much more heavily on the Saint-Denis sources of the Great Chronicles. For this part they had a number of minor independent sources for ~~xxxi~~ isolated incidents, and Gaguin's relation to these cannot be traced.

But for the Saint-Denis sources the examples become so numerous that it is unnecessaryⁿ to quote them in detail; it may be stated in general that (with one exception) Gaguin moved forward from one to another as regularly and methodically as the compiler of the Great Chronicles himself had done, and so far as one can see with no marked preference among them, using compilations and contemporary sources side by side. He takes more from Suger while he lasts than from the continuatorsⁿ of Aimoin; but he begins to use Guillaume de Nangis also as early as the reign of Louis VI, and continues to do so for those of Louis VII and Philippe II almost as freely as the contemporary Rigord and Guillaume le Breton. But he

still uses the vernacular also, sometimes but not always checking back to its sources.

Thus the Great Chronicles speak of Froment as the "son" of Renart count of Sens, whereas Gaguin reverts to the version of the continuator of Aimoin, "brother." The Great Chronicles have dealt boldly with the difficulty of Suger's variation between "sacer" and gener in the story of le Roche-Guyon by introducing yet another relation, serorge. Gaguin ignores this, and is explicit that the murderer was Guy's father-in-law. On the other hand, in the description of the array of the French army at Rheims he has copied the Great Chronicles' corruption of the "Pontivos" (sc. people of Ponthieu), who according to Suger were stationed on the left wing, into Poitevins.

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- 1 Grandes Chroniques, Robert, chap. IV, vol. V, p. 26.
 - 2 F. XLIII.R.
 - 3 Historia Francorum, Bk. 5, chap. XLVI; p. 746.
 - 4 Louis VI, chap. IV; vol. V, p. 166.
 - 5 F. XLV.V. On this v. further p. 192.
 - 6 F. XLVII.R.
 - 7 Louis VI, chap. XVII; vol. V, p. 241.
 - 8 Vita Ludovici Grossi, XXVII, ed. A. Molinier (Collection des textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'histoire, Paris 1887), p. 103.

The one exception is the reign of Charlemagne.¹ Gaguin rejected the whole fabulous part of his history; and as he made no use of the Journey to Jerusalem and the pseudo-Turpin, it is impossible to know the degree to which he studied them, though he did so sufficiently to be able to extract some of their worst absurdities in justification of his rejection. For the facts of the reign he on the whole prefers the monastic annals attributed to Einhard to the Vita Karoli, though there are at least two instances of his having consulted the latter also. He has preserved the detail (omitted by the Great Chronicles) of Charlemagne carrying wax² tablets about with him, though he gives it the purpose of taking notes, whereas Einhard implies that it was to practise writing.³ Again, Einhard speaks of Charlemagne on state occasions wearing a "jewelled" (gemmata) sword.⁴ The compiler of the Great Chronicles has misread this as "twin" (geminata), and therefore describes Charlemagne as wearing two swords.⁵ Gaguin corrects this, though he

1 V. pp. 290-3.

2 F. XXVIII.V.

3 Vita Karoli Magni, chap. XXV, ed. Waitz (SRG, Hanover and Leipzig 1911), p. 30.

4 Ibid. Chap. XXIII; p. 28.

5 Charlemagne, Bk. 3, chap. II; vol. III, p. 153.

expresses it differently: "gladio preciosis gemmis decoro."¹

(2) Gaguin's method became less appropriate when from the beginning of the XIVth century the Great Chronicles became in effect contemporary and for the last two reigns the work of an official scribe, unified and individual in character and deliberate in purpose,^{and} [^] This greatly limited in scope as a source. The same is true of the later continuations, covering a restricted contemporary period and in the main direct narratives rather than compilations.

In A Gaguin limited himself to them fairly strictly. But A was criticised as too brief and bald; and some time between the composition of A and its republication as BC Gaguin supplemented this section from Froissart. The alterations, elsewhere on the whole trifling, suddenly swell here to a startling extent. Hardly a line has not been in some way refashioned, and many of the additions are lengthy. Nor does Gaguin only add, which had been his main method hitherto; he sometimes on Froissart's sole authority rejects a version already included in A on the concordant testimony of the Religieux de Saint-Denis and Juvenal des Ursins. The reconnaissance before Rosebecque is said by both to have

1 F. XXVIII.V.

been carried out by "twelve men who knew the Flemish language", and this is followed by A.¹ In BC it is altered to Froissart's version of Clisson and his two companions.² In BC Gaguin introduces some modification from Froissart more favourable to the ill-fated son of Gaston-Phébus of Foix;³ in A he had followed the plain version of his guilt from Juvenal.⁴

There seem no cases quite so unequivocal of this occurring in connection with the Great Chronicles themselves. But Gaguin follows Froissart in describing Godemar de Faye's vain attempt to defend the ford of Blanque-Taque,⁵ where the Great Chronicles do not mention the presence of a French force, while the continuator of Guillaume de Nangis, presumably their source, says Godemar ran away.

This presence of a wholly independent source gives this part of the Compendium greater variety and interest. But Froissart in himself was a strange and not very happy choice. Honest and impartial as he is from some points

1 F. LXXXI.R.

2 C: F. LXVI.R.

3 C: F. LXIX.V.

4 F. LXXXV.R.

5 F. LXXIX.R.

of view, his information was limited and disjointed, and he had so little critical sense that he was altogether at the mercy of his witnesses, and can be trusted only where they chanced to be reliable.

Gaguin moreover had no natural affinity with Froissart, whose genuine merits he could not appreciate and whose defects of crudeness, incoherence and lack of seriousness were precisely those which would offend him most. When he cites him by name it is usually to question or reject his testimony; and in one place this is accompanied by an outburst of indignation at what he regards as Froissart's partiality for the English.¹ The result of this defect of sympathy is that the longer additions in so far as they preserve their own character form a discord with the surrounding text, and in so far as Gaguin has fused them with his own style lose such value as they possessed.

This is particularly noticeable in the case of the three longest: the adventures of the Great Company after the Treaty of Brétigny,² the explanation of the Flemish revolt by reference to the feud of the Ghentish families,³

1 P. LXVI.V.

2 P. LXXXVI.R.ss.

3 P. XCIIII.R.ss.

and the passage of the bridge of Commines by the French army on its way to Rosebecque,¹ which is less an addition than a complete new recension based on Froissart of the brief and confused account given in A.² All in their different ways are characteristic of Froissart's peculiar excellence in narrative; but they are out of harmony with Gaguin's serious and dignified style. Also the first and third are incidents too trivial for the space allotted to them in a work so brief as the Compendium. The second is important in itself; but Gaguin by retelling it at such length has given it a deceptive character which it did not possess in the original. We know that Froissart employed no judgment as to whether a reason accounted adequately for the consequences deduced from it, and that he had no sense of proportion as to the space which he devoted to important or unimportant events; he wrote at length on anything as to which he happened to have full information, and omitted or barely mentioned everything else. We thus know where we are with him, and need not attribute more weight than they deserve to his statements. But Gaguin claims to deal only with the essential; and when he ~~deals~~
~~at length~~

1 F. XCVI.R.ss.

2 F. LXXI.R.

goes into detail on the causes of some event (all the more because this is so rare with him) the implication is that he regards it as not merely true but important.

For the reign of Charles VI he seems not to have gone behind the version of Juvenal des Ursins reproduced in the printed Great Chronicles to its source in the Latin of the Religieux de Saint-Denis. In some cases, as has been seen, he prefers Froissart's version to that of either, and in others there are minor discrepancies between all four. But there is apparently no instance of his preferring the Religieux's testimony to Juvenal's where they conflict, or of his including anything contained in the Religieux which Juvenal omits.

For the reign of Charles VII he makes a few minor additions to the chronicle of Jean Chartier from the sources which Chartier himself probably used, and perhaps also from the verbal tradition for which the period was by then sufficiently close. But these are very trifling. Sometimes a slightly different turn is given to events basically the same. Gaguin describes the French council of war before Verneuil as held after the approach of Bedford had been announced, and does not blame the Scots like Chartier for the decision to fight.¹ Otherwise it

1 F. CXV.V.

is largely differences over figures, which might be misprints or misreading, and names, due partly to the attempt to Latinise them; Jean d'Armagnac de Lescun (Armagnac's candidate for the bishopric of Auch), Lestin¹ or Lustain in Chartier, ends as Justinus in Gaguin.² In general the copying is very exact, not only in subject-matter but in arrangement. When a sentence or two have disposed of a chapter of Chartier, it is almost certain that the next sentence or two cover the next chapter.

The same is still more the case for the next reign. The Chronique Scandaleuse was a strictly contemporary production, written as the events which it recorded happened, from personal knowledge, the testimony of witnesses, or gossip and rumour, but not apparently from any written sources ^{from} in which Gaguin might have supplemented it. Nor does he seem to have made much use of the independent authors of the reign. Thuasne gives Basin positively as a source,³ apparently on the strength of the reference to him as a historical character, as "a man without doubt of very high spirit, and a scorner of Louis' ways".⁴ There are undoubtedly a number of incidents

1 Chronique, chap. CCLXXIII; vol. III, p. 50.

2 F. CXXXVII.V.

3 Epistole, Introduction; vol. I, p. 119, n. 6.

4 F. CXLIIII.V.

in the Compendium, not in the Chronique Scandaleuse, which might have been derived from Basin, such as the details on Armagnac's incest¹ and the popular belief in the survival of Burgundy,² and particularly the comments on the proceedings and disposition of Louis XI (his ban on hunting,³ his low-born favourites,⁴ his hunting of rats and mice in his last illness⁵).

But by the reign of Louis XI Gaguin was a contemporary, and much of this would be common knowledge of the day. Both Gaguin and Basin disliked Louis XI, though to very different degrees, and there would be nothing ²strange in their having independently mentioned the same facts or repeated the same gossip. It must be remembered that Basin, although to some extent an actor in the affairs of his age, was by no means an eye-witness for what concerned Louis XI personally, not even in the earlier part of his career, and still less latterly when in retirement in Flanders. Whatever air of authenticity the vividness of his own impressions contrives to give his descriptions,

1 F. KLM CL.V.

2 F. CLIIII.R.

3 F. CXXXIX.R.

4 EX Ibid.

5 F. CLIX.R.

they must in fact have been derived from the written or verbal accounts of others; and Gaguin, living in Paris, with friends at the court after he himself had lost contact with it, could presumably have drawn upon such sources equally well, if not more easily and extensively.

If he had read the Historia Ludovici XI it is hard to see how he could have described the author's later career by saying that having been compelled to leave France after the War of the Common Weal, he "taught the interpretation of law in Louvain University for the rest of his life".¹ There seems no evidence of his having used the Historia Caroli VII for the previous reign. He does not mention Basin in connection with the surrender of Lisieux,² and his account of the Truce of Tours follows Chartier³ in putting the betrothal of Marguerite of Anjou to Henry VI as distinct from the peace and after it, even after Basel and ~~the~~ during the siege of Metz,⁴ whereas Basin is specific that they formed part of the same negotiation.⁵

1 F. CXLIIII.R.

2 F. CXXX.R.

5 Historia Caroli VII, Bk. 3, Chap. XX, ed. Ch. Samaran (Les Classiques de l'Histoire de France au moyen âge, 2 vols. Paris 1933), vol. I, p. 295.

3 Chronique, chap. CLIX; vol. II, p. 45.

4 F. CXXVIII.V (misprinted CXXVII in text).

Finally, the Historia Ludovici XI seems not to have been widely diffused until some time after Basin's death, and he may even have taken steps to ensure that it was not published in his lifetime.¹ In view of all this, though the possibility of Gaguin having made use of it cannot be excluded, it can hardly be regarded as proved.

He was thus almost exclusively dependent on the Chronique Scandaleuse, which he seems to regard with the confidence due to a section of the Saint-Denis Chronicles. He follows it very closely, as in~~z~~ the account of the capture of Henry VI² and the fate of Clarence,³ and even in places copies slips of the pen. Petitot in his edition of the Chronique Scandaleuse, which he says is derived from the first edition (1611), checked from Bib. nat. MS. fr. 9689, calls the maitre des comptes¹ sent as ambassador to England first Olivier le Roy and then le Roux.⁴ Gaguin follows this (Regis, Ruffus),⁵ although another MS. (Bib.

1 Jules Quicherat: Introduction to his ed. of les Oeuvres de Jean Historien Ludovic XI (SHF, 5 vols. Paris 1885-9).

2 F. CXXXIX.R.

3 F. CIVIII.R (misprinted CLIX in text).

4 Collection complète des mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France, Ser. 1, vols. XIII, XIV (Paris 1820), vol. XIII, p. 340.

5 F. CXIV.R,V.

nat. MS. fr. 5062¹), used by Bernard de Mandrot for his edition, has correctly le Roux throughout.¹ He reproduces its equivocal treatment of the character and fate of the count of Saint-Pol² and its garbled version of the interview of Féronne,³ and when he comes to deal with the totally different form which the latter is given in the accusation of Cardinal Balue,⁴ he makes it even less plain than the Chronique Scandaleuse where he is merely quoting from the official charge and where he is stating facts on his own authority.⁵ He also accepts from it prodigies and trivial scandalous or sensational gossip⁶ which he would certainly have been too little credulous and too much concerned for the dignity of his history to include of his own.

His position here was very difficult. Hitherto he had been dealing with a past more or less remote, which

1 Vol. I, pp. 156, 171, 267.

2 F. CLII.V.

3 F. CXLVII.R.

4 F. CXLVII.V.

5 Ff. CXLVI.R (the star guiding Louis XI home), CLVIII.V (misprinted CIVIX; the hermaphrodite monk).

6 Ff. CIIII.R (the fate of Charlotte de Brézé), CIVIII.V (misprinted CIVIX; the tame lion, the exploding cannon).

could be treated with relative detachment. He was now face to face with the contemporary situation, in which his personal feelings and political opinions were involved; and unfortunately for him they were both to some extent in conflict with his primary source. His dislike of Louis XI could not easily be harmonised with the servile loyalty of the Chronique Scandaleuse.

His solution of this dilemma suggests that his conception of a compendium remained fundamentally mediaeval. He neither rejected one of these attitudes nor endeavoured to combine them by some synthesis; he allowed them to stand side by side, passing from one to the other and back again without transition. He sets down a fact from the Chronique Scandaleuse, and then adds a commentary from his own very different angle. It is true that he made some additions, and he also occasionally preserves some of its generalisations, such as the pathetic moralising of Louis XI after Montlhéry,¹ though it is perhaps significant that he omits the specific tribute to his courage. There was also one point on which they were in harmony. Both were unquestioningly and uncompromisingly patriotic. However ill Gaguin thought of Louis XI personally and of his ideas.

1 F. CXLI.R.

on government, he was whole-heartedly on his side in his capacity as king of France as against any foreign kings or nations, and indeed attributes most of his vices to his having become "imbued through long custom with foreign habits"¹. Thus in dealing with external affairs he could follow the Chronique Scandaleuse with no stress of opposition. But with these exceptions his method remained an uneasy oscillation.

To balance this, he had now the advantage of being a contemporary of mature age, moving to some extent in political circles. He was not like Commines at the heart of affairs, especially latterly; but he was in a position to supply a considerable amount of information, direct or almost direct, on events both in France and abroad.² Thus he gives a detailed and interesting account of his embassy to prevent the marriage of Maximilian of Austria and Marie of Burgundy,³ which the Chronique Scandaleuse does not allude to. Here he specifically names himself. We may also assume that he was speaking from personal or at least very direct knowledge when he gives at considerable length

1 F. CXXXIX.V.

2 At various times he visited England, Italy, Germany and Spain, on the business of the government or of his Order.

3 F. CLVII.R.

the apologia and proposals of the insurgent princes to the Parisians during the War of the Common Weal.¹ It is noteworthy that what he gives is not the speech of Dunois himself but what the bishop of Paris reported on his return, as if Gaguin had been present at the council in the Town Hall or had been told by some one who was there. Other small additions might come from documents or some narrative source drawn upon for isolated incidents. But he may have heard them as direct pieces of news; and where there is not positive evidence to the contrary the natural and probable assumption is that this was their origin.

In the main however the episodes thus derived are ~~trivial~~ trivial and anecdotal. Three concern ^{Gaguin} himself. He speaks of seeing ~~the~~ Burgundian prisoners brought into Paris after Montl'héry,² and the copy of Origen's Scholia on Leveticus among the spoils from Dinan.³ His embassy to England⁴ is derived from this period, though introduced earlier as an illustration of the inveterate hatred of the English towards the French. The rest refer to Louis ~~XIX~~ and

1 F. CXLII.R,V.

2 F. CXLI.R.

3 F. CXLV.V.

4 F. LIIII.R.

XI and other well-known figures in the world of politics and learning.¹ These are of some interest for the social and literary history of the period, and they have the value attaching to every direct testimony as to the past; but they do not add much to our main historical knowledge, and it is disappointing that Gaguin did not make more use of his excellent opportunities to supplement his inadequate text from personal knowledge.

For the last Book, added in D, he naturally had no sources in the strictly historical sense, though he presumably saw some of the Ephemera which le Ferron² says were produced daily in connection with the Neapolitan expedition. According to Thuanes³, his letter to Erasmus on the Italian expedition follows the official report on Fornovo, and there must have been a variety of documents of this kind. Here the peculiarity of his method could no longer apply, and he was compelled to compose his book in the same way as any other contemporary chronicler, from personal knowledge and such documents as he had access to.

1 ff. CXLVI.V, CXLVIII.R (Balue), CL.V (Ambroise de Cambrai), CXL.R (Guillaume Fichet).

2 ~~V. p.~~ *De Rebus Gestis Gallicum*, Br. 1 (Vasson, Paris 1890, 8°), f. 27.V.

3 Ep. LXXIV; *Epistole*, vol. II, p. 13, n. 2.

So far, with the one exception of Froissart, Gaguin's method has been discussed by reference to his treatment of the Saint-Denis sources. But although these were his foundation, his plan, as has been observed, required as a final stage their being expanded and enriched from independent sources.

Gaguin cites a number of these sources by name, more in the earlier than in the later Books, for the early material was more susceptible of discussion and therefore called more for an assembly of authorities. Thus on the question of the origin of the Franks he refers to Flavius Vopiscus, Paulus Diaconus, Gregory of Tours (citing Sulpitius Alexander), Cicero in a letter to Atticus, Caesar, Strabo, the "Roman Histories", "Annonius", and an anonymous "chronicler" of Charles VIII. Similarly on the Charlemagne legend he refers to the Chronicles of Saint-Denis, Turpin, the author of the Life and Deeds of St. Servacius, and a Spanish work called the Fraises of Spain.¹ He discusses no other single point so fully as

1 Libellus de preconis Hispaniae, by the Franciscan Juan Gilles, dedicated to Sancho son of Alfonso king of Castile and Leon (1310-50): Bib. nat. MS. lat. 12925. The passage on Charlemagne occurs F. CXXIV. R, V, with the gloss: "Karolus Magnus et famosi pares Francie fuerunt victi ab Hispanis." Epistole, vol. II, pp. 513-4.

these, and therefore no other has so many names connected with it.

n/ The authorities which he gives for ordinary undisputed historical facts (most often minor variants of chronology or nomenclature) are Polybius (through Strabo, for a purely illustrative anecdote), James of Bergamo,¹ Gregory of Tours, the "Deeds of the English",² Antoninus of Florence, the "Bibliothecarius", Gervase of Tilbury, Biondo and Platina, "an English author, a monk of Malmesbury", Froissart, and Chartier. The only instance of a block reference for the whole of a prolonged passage is the Annals of Brabant for the insertion in D on the history and geography of Austrasia. These names appear to be a comprehensive, if not more than comprehensive,³ acknowledgment^{c_f} his sources.
^

(a) Among the direct historical narratives, Gaguin had no debt to any other author at all comparable to that to Froissart, which has already been discussed.

1 J.P. Foresti of Bergamo: Supplementum Chronicarum.

2 This is probably the De Gestis Regum Anglorum of William of Malmesbury, separately cited again below.

3 V. p. 296.

The pieces of information derived from them are scattered, often trivial, almost always brief, and never numerous. One or two are of some interest in indicating the trend of Gaguin's general reading.

In dealing with the reign of Charlemagne, the Great Chronicles have~~ing~~ added an "incident" to their sources retailing the dreadful fate of the monks of St. Martin of Tours who abandoned their monastic dress.¹ The reference given is merely: "Si comme saint Ode abbé raconte", which would seem to apply to the story ^{told by} of St. Odo abbot of Cluny (927-42) to his young monks, as recorded in his life by his disciple John.² This, while given at greater length, is in complete agreement with the version of the Great Chronicles, which repeat the adjuration of the one monk who survived to the avenging angel and the conclusion that thereafter the monastery was occupied by canons and given by Charlemagne to Alcuin. This version also occurs in the Chronicon Turonense, with greater detail (including the name of the abbot at the time, Iterius) and more

1 Charlemagne, Bk. 3, chap. III; vol. III, pp. 159-60.

2 Life of St. Odo (PLC, vol. CXXIII, Paris 1861), cols. 75-6.

precise dating: "In the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 791, and of Irene 9 and Charles 24..."¹ There is also however ~~the~~ a reference to Odo, suggesting some similarity of source.

Gaguin on the other hand places the episode in the reign of Charles the Bald, speaks only of a divinely-sent plague visiting the monks, and says that the sole survivor, Vedastus, became a saint and had a church dedicated to him.² Now, this is very similar to the version of Adémar de Chabannes, though Adémar says there was no survivor, and has the same statement as Odo, the Great Chronicles and the Chronicon Turonense on the substitution of canons.³ It is significant that both Adémar and Gaguin begin with a story about the canons of St. Martial of Limoges; that of the monks of St. Martin follows only by way of contrast, introduced by Adémar with a fairly precise: "Qua tempestate", by Gaguin with a vaguer: "Ceterum". Adémar was a Limousin, likely to be more interested and better informed as to the affairs of St. Martial than as to those of St. Martin; and it may

1 Ed. Martène and Durand (Veterum Scriptorum Amplissima Collectio, vol. V, Paris 1729), cols. 955-6.

2 F. XXXV.V.

3 Chronicon, ed. M. Labbe (Novae Bibliothecae Manuscriptorum Librorum, vol. II, Paris 1657), p. 161.

be that the confusion in dating is simply due to what he regarded as the less important story being tacked onto the first.

There is ~~exf~~ of course enough discrepancy to suggest the possibility of two different episodes in the two reigns. But the coincidence seems improbable; and nothing would have been simpler in the Middle Ages than the transformation for purposes of edification of a sudden plague into a personified agent of God's displeasure. Adémar's chronicle was fairly popular, and Gaguin may have known it only through some other compendium, in which he found the reference to St. Vaast, lacking in Adémar. But whatever the immediate form of his source, it seems clear that he was drawing here on some narrative other than the Great Chronicles.

Much the same applies to the second part of the Complaint of Louis le Débonnaire¹, which is not in the Great Chronicles, either manuscript or printed.. Gaguin could have come across some original version more full than that which they possessed. There is however some evidence to suggest that this was not so, and that he was quoting from a definite though unnamed source.

The passage occurs in the *De Translatione Reliquiarum Sancti Sebastiani et Sancti Gregorii*, written by Odilon

1 F. XXXIII. 2.

monk of St. Mard of Soissons in the early Xth century, and the resemblance is verbal, with only such minor variants as might arise from different manuscripts or slight carelessness in reading or writing. Moreover, copy A of the Compendium, reproduces also the paragraph immediately following the Complaint in the De Translatione, giving a brief note on the end of Louis' life anticipating and not wholly consistent with the later narrative of the Compendium.² In the later editions Gaguin has omitted this, presumably feeling its awkwardness.

Besides these few possible sources for individual episodes, there is one author upon whom Gaguin draws throughout to a regular though very limited extent. He cites Biondo by name several times, sometimes in conjunction with Platina, but treating them as independent authorities; he seems not to have realised that their concurrence was due to Platina's derivation from Biondo. These citations are however chiefly for small points, and sometimes to demonstrate ^{Biondo's} his ignorance of French affairs. He may also have used him without acknowledgment for some

1 RRGF, vol. VI (Paris 1749), pp. 323-6.

2 Pf. XXIX.V-XXX.R.

matters of European and ecclesiastical history and for the increased precision in the later editions of the Compendium as to dates, names, titles and such like.

(b) Gaguin's interest in documents was not great, but he did make some use of them. He claims to have seen the report of the investigation of the origin of the kingdom of Yvetot made when a dispute arose in 1428 as to what taxes the "king" should pay the English rulers of ^oNormandy.¹ He also implies, though he does not say, that he saw ~~at~~ a copy of St. Louis' Advice to his Son, which he gives verbatim (in D) and which is not in the ordinary Great Chronicles. But the wording here is obscure and apparently in some error. In introducing it Gaguin says: "In the archives of Charles V there was found a paper of precepts which this saintly king dictated and wrote for his eldest son at the siege of Tunis. This, taken from Charles' treasury, was shown to Charles by Gérard de Montagu the royal scribe A.D. 1364."² But at the end: "Geraud (sic) de Montagu the royal scribe steadily affirms that he found this in the archives of Louis and gave it to his successor Philippe."³ In D

1 F. IX.V.

2 F. LXIII.R.A

3 F. IXIIII.R.

also he includes verbatim the decrees of the Council of Basel embodied in the Pragmatic Sanction,¹ without saying from what document they are derived.

(c) Information derived from personal knowledge has already been discussed in dealing with the last period, to which alone it is applicable.

(d) Gaguin quotes a few literary sources for not strictly historical subjects such as the calumnies of France by Petrarch and Boccaccio, the poems of Hildebert of Le Mans, perhaps the account by Euthenius ~~of~~ bishop of Arles² of his vision of the fate of Charles Martel, though the wording does not make it plain whether Gaguin had read the original. He could have found it in the Annales Fuldenses Part I (Seligstadtensis), which is attributed to Einhard, and thus might have been available and authoritative at Saint-Denis; though there seems some reason to suppose that this passage is an interpolation in the Annales.

(e) There is another vaguer source, employed to a small extent throughout, which partakes of the character of both (c) and (d), and which may be described loosely

1 Pf. CXXV.R-CXXVI.R.

2 Sic; but all other authors say of Orleans.

as general knowledge, the product of digested experience of literature and life. The most important example is the long account of Gaul interpolated in D.¹ Aimoin provided the idea, the general plan and much of the matter; but Gaguin, while greatly abridging the original, has also added much from his own knowledge, expanding the political geography, for example with the list of towns, so as to bring it up to date, and digressing into a lyrical description of France. There are also some briefer passages of the same nature, such as the ~~description~~^{discussion} of the Salic Law² and the French succession,³ the origin of the Trinitarians⁴ (in which of course he had a personal interest) and the rise of the Parlement.⁵

(f) Gaguin was too academic a scholar to pay much regard to tradition in its simple popular form, and his occasional use of it is chiefly in support of some improbable statement in his authorities.⁶ But he draws

1 F². II.V-III.R.

2 F. II.V.

3 F. IXXVII.V.

4 F. LIII.R.

5 F. XXV.R.

6 F².V.R (the miracles at the baptism of Clovis),
IXIX.R (the adventures of the lay brother of Val de
Carney).

on it at least once directly. Dunois' dream at Bayeux¹ is not in Chartier, Berry or Blondel, all of whom attribute the prevention of the sack of the town simply to the prudence and humanity of the French commanders.

(g) Gaguin makes no use of monuments and archaeological remains. Mediaeval historians did not make a practice of this; and in so far as he was a Humanist Gaguin was a rhetorician, not one of the small school of scientific historians stemming from Biondo, nor even a sentimental antiquarian like Bouchet. France was to wait until the middle of the next century before these new preoccupations found their expression in Etienne Pasquier, Claude Fauchet and Bernard de Girard du Haillan.

3. Reputation and Influence.

A. Reputation.

The Compendium seems to have been quite well received at the time. Gaguin's general reputation stood high among the Humanists of France and Flanders. His own group of Humanist friends, besides their sense of loyalty to their party, doubtless felt a genuine interest in a work which whatever its inadequacies did represent a tentative ^{effort} ~~attempt~~ to handle a history of France in accordance with their literary canons.

1 F. CXXXIIII.R.

Moreover, these very inadequacies (from the Humanist point of view) must have given it a certain popularity also outside Humanist circles. It was familiar enough in form, and indeed in fundamental conception, not to shock those who had grown up in the mediaeval tradition of history, while its touch of greater sophistication would satisfy the demand which had begun to arise (even among others besides Humanists) for an improvement in taste and composition. The divided character and purpose of the Compendium, which seriously mar its absolute value as a scholarly and literary production, enabled it at the time to hit very well the taste of the diverse elements of the late XVth century, itself an age of transition and anomaly.

But a multiplicity of circumstances made it impossible that this reputation should be long maintained. In the first place, there was the general character of the work. This, which was the most important reason and perhaps the only one wholly without remedy, was common to the Compendium and the De Rebus Gestis, and will be dealt with later in discussing Aemilius.

Secondly, we know, from a variety of arguments to be adduced later, that Gaguin was in no sense a true and

thorough Humanist. While this compromise between the old and the new was precisely what was fitted to be understood and enjoyed by the ordinary reading public of the late XVth century, it lost its attraction as the XVIth century advanced. That it did not do so more rapidly and completely was due to the very partial character of the hold which, as will be seen later, was ever obtained by Humanism in France. The Compendium was still used and liked by a definite section of the community, because this element retained much of the set of ideas upon which it was based; but it was no longer championed by the conscious literary criticism which was dominated by Humanist theory.

Erasmus at first showered immoderate praise on the Compendium, not only in his letter written for inclusion in it¹ but in the poem in which he claims that France need no longer envy Latium its Livy and its Sallust, having now both of its own to write its history with "all the majesty of Roman eloquence".² But later he spoke of ~~him~~^{it} much more coldly, saying that it was to be esteemed more for its style than for its matter, and that even the style could only be commended in relation to the period when it was

1 F. n.c. 1 at end, sig. F.ii.R- F. n.c. 2.R.

2 Opera Omnia (Froben, 9 vols. Basel 1540-1), vol. I (Epigrammata), pp. 1022-4.

written, for in Erasmus' own day Gaguin would hardly pass as possessing a mediocre knowledge of Latin.¹ It is true that Erasmus was by no means constant in his judgments, and that these two contradictory estimates might be explained by the difference in circumstances between Erasmus the newcomer in Paris, anxious for the patronage of the literary world, and Erasmus when he was established and when Gaguin was dead and could be of no further use to him. But this interpretation could be challenged as excessively uncharitable. Erasmus, though capricious and irritable, was not without capacity for friendship; and there is no reason to suppose that he had quarrelled with Gaguin. ^{One} ~~Some~~ of the last of Gaguin's ^{surviving} letters which ~~survive are two~~ ^{is a} brief note² to him, written during the illness from which he died, couched in terms of touching affection. Even if the explanation were correct, the natural and probable deduction would be that the second less enthusiastic opinion was that which Erasmus in fact held when not influenced by ulterior motives to disguise it. We have however no reason to doubt that writing before the New Learning had taken much effect in northern

1 Nicéron: Mémoires, vol. XLIII, p. 12.

2 Ep. XC; Epistole, vol. II, p. 80.

Europe,²² might quite sincerely have been more impressed by Gaguin's achievement at the time than later in retrospect when he had seen, especially in Italy, what real Humanism could be. This would be entirely in ~~the~~ agreement with the changing standards in the early years of the XVth century which led to Gaguin's eclipse.

By the nature of things this eclipse could only deepen as time went on. The XVIIth and XVIIIth century historians not only retained a measure of the Humanists' excessive preoccupation with literary style; they also laid an increasingly greater stress on a requirement only dimly perceived by the Humanists, that of conscientiousness and accuracy in scholarly research. On this point Gaguin inevitably fell far below their demands, and the references to him become increasingly chilly, although in most cases some formal terms of commendation are retained, as it were by force of habit.

Louis Legendre, who in some respects ^{praises} ~~commends~~ the Compendium very highly (as readable, well ~~written~~ told, neither too ^o ~~l~~ng nor too short, not leaving out anything remarkable, and even discussing the affairs of his own day frankly), complains of the "fables" it contains, and calls Gaguin a "monk", though he admits that he was "born a wit" and having made his way at court by intrigue became

a polished scholar, equally able and learned, and cast off the uncouth surly air of the pedant. Louis Vives was very indignant at the base flatteries which he said it contained, but on this point Gaguin was defended by Sandius. The continuators of Nicéron, who in 1745 gave this resumé of his previous reputation, themselves describe him as a pretty poor orator and a very bad poet, and while admitting that he was not credulous observe that he had to follow the taste of his age in introducing marvels into his history.¹ Richard Rawlinson, writing ^{a little earlier} ~~at about the same time~~, calls him "a superficial and very credulous author";² and this general impression that he was mediaeval and "monkish" seems to have been the normal one in the XVIIth century. On the other hand, he had none of the merits of the minor contemporary sources which the XIXth century resuscitated, despite their naivety, for the sake of their direct testimony and authentic reactions.

A third consideration, though of a slightly different kind, damaged Gaguin's reputation both at the time and later. The Compendium, as will be seen, was strongly

1 Memoires, vol. XLIII, pp. 1 ss.

2 A New Way of Studying History, chap. XXXV (2 vols. London 1728), vol. II, p. 201.

nationalist in tone. This, while popular in France, was inevitably less so with people of a similar turn of mind in other countries. Those writing the history of England, Italy or Flanders found themselves obliged to contest his reading of various episodes in the relationship of the countries, and were apt to be irritated by his aggressive tone. Jacob Meyer calls him the 2 "trumpeter" ¹ (praeco) of the French, and a frivolous historian, as the French writers themselves testify that the vernacular commentaries which he used are altogether inept and in many places false; "for the French" he adds, "do not write of their actions with any better faith than they perform them".² Paulus Jovius is peculiarly venomous as to his untrustworthiness, his impudence in writing of the Italian affairs as to which he waxes wholly ignorant, and the grossness of his style;³ and Polydore Vergil calls him: "non testis sed hostis Anglicarum rerum, ac odii magis quam ueri memor".⁴

1 Annales Flandriae, Bk. XIV, ed. Antoine Meyer (Antwerp 1561), F. CCXV.R.

2 Ibid. Bk. XVII; F. CCCIX.R.

3 Elogia Doctorum Virorum, CXXXVI (Basel 1571), p. 280.

4 D. Hay: Polydore Vergil (Oxford 1951), p. 116, n. 10.

This ~~however~~ did not prevent Gaguin from being quite well known and treated as a serious historian in other countries. John Skelton, although one of the court poets of whom Gaguin fell foul in 1489, in his satire against Cardinal Wolsey: "Why come ye nat to court?" tells the story of Cardinal Balue from

Maister Gaguine, the Chownycler
Of the feytes of war
What were done in France.¹

The Compendium was used by Fabyan in his chronicle, by the anonymous author of "Hearne's Fragment", and later by Hall and Stow,² as well as by Nauclerus for his Memorabilium Omnis aetatis...chronici commentarii,³ and even by Jacob Meyer and Polydore Vergil, despite all their professed scepticism. Gaguin is mentioned in the exchange of letters between Colet and Erasmus and between Nauclerus and Reuchlin.

Nevertheless, this characteristic not only provoked contemporaries to question his statements and interpretations but diminished the reliance placed upon him as soon as a detached scientific approach to history became accepted, at least in theory, as the requisite approach of the serious

1 Epistole, vol. I, p. 120.

2 C.L. Kingsford: English Historical Literature in the XVth Century (Oxford 1913), pp. 105, 177, 262, 269.

3 Hauser: Continuation of Molinier's Sources, vol. I, p. 93.

historian. Gaguin was writing at the beginning of a period of strong nationalist feeling, when the authors of all countries were becoming increasingly hostile and unfair to one another, and no peculiar criticism should be attached to ^{Rim} ~~Gaguin~~ on this score. But inevitably it has decreased the value of his book and the consideration accorded to it not only abroad but by impartial critics in his own country.

B. Influence. But although Gaguin's formal reputation thus stood high only for a short time and in a small circle, the degree to which the Compendium was read by a large less articulate public, precisely because he could not wholly meet the requirements of the critics, enabled him to exercise a quiet and indirect influence of a slightly different kind on French historiography even beyond the middle of the XVIth century.

One striking fact will illustrate at once both the extent and the character of this influence. Although Gaguin was disappointed of his purpose of becoming historiographer royal, the Compendium almost from the moment of its appearance seems to have been accepted in some quasi-official way as the representative of the chronicles of Saint-Denis. All their continuations and imitations which go beyond the reign of Louis XI (Great

Chronicles, Mer des Chroniques et Miroir historial, Sommaire historial, Chronique Martiniane)¹ are based on the Compendium for 1461-1500. The compiler of the Martiniane² names Gaguin as his source, and in fact follows him so closely as to repeat even his comments.

Further, this implied status seems to have been accepted at all or more than all its face value by the various writers of ordinary histories of France, both general and contemporary or local, who not only make use of the Compendium as a convenient handbook but treat it with an excessive confidence. This applies to some extent even to the historians of marked provincial loyalties, who do not like Gaguin's attitude and reflections but draw on him for his facts, cite him for his authority, and refer to him with formal respect, exactly as similar writers in the previous century had treated the Great Chronicles.

Alain Bouchart was a Breton patriot, sceptical of French historians when they speak of his province, and disposed to be favourable to the English as the old allies of Brittany. He twice challenges statements by Gaguin

1 On these, v. Hauser: Continuation of Molinier's Sources, vol. I, pp. 2-11, 14-21.

2 Antoine Verard, Paris 1503 [?]. On the inappropriateness of the name, v. Abbé Lebeuf: "Mémoire sur les chroniques martinianes", in MAIB (Littérature), XX (1753), pp. 224-66.

which he regards as disobliging to the Bretons: the dismissal of Arthur's descent on Gaul as "fables" (where he makes the good point that Gaguin's argument that he found nothing about in the histories of the French is not "valid or adequate, for then the French were not inhabitants of this kingdom"¹); and the reference in the reign of Charlemagne² to the migration of the Britons into Brittany, which he calls "a great blunder"³. But here he has misread a clear sentence of Gaguin's and failed to observe the explanatory "formerly"⁴. Yet a show of respect is paid;⁵ Bouchart's familiarity with Gaguin's narrative is obvious; and he refers to him not by name but simply as "the modern chronicler"⁶, as if this title alone were sufficient to identify him.

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- 1 Les Grandes chroniques de Bretagne, ~~Paris~~, ed. H. le Meignen (Société des Bibliophiles bretons, Rennes 1886), p. 51.R.
 - 2 Bouchart speaks of Gaguin as the author of "the Charmaine history". Is this the book on Charlemagne which seems not to have survived? V. Epistole, vol. I, pp. 62-3.
 - 3 Chroniques de Bretagne, p. 67.V.
 - 4 F. XXVIII.R: "Hi enim Britones... aliquando... in Venetorum atque Corosolitorum terras... comigraverunt."
 - 5 Chroniques de Bretagne, p. 51.R: "with all reverence to..."
 - 6 For the emphatic force of the term "chronicler", and the official status which it implied, v. p. 59.

The Supplement carrying the Chroniques de Bretagne down to 1514 shows an even greater debt, which makes it still clearer that it is Gaguin himself and not his sources who is being used, and is still more significant of the trust felt in him personally; for this part covers the last Book of the Compendium, which is contemporary and original. It goes back to the beginning of this Book with the accession of Charles VIII, although the main text of the Chroniques de Bretagne has already dealt in detail and from its own point of view with the whole of the Breton war, and reproduces it verbally, even including the non-narrative digressions such as the opening passage,¹ the first-person reference to Gaguin's embassy to England,² the justification of the details on the funeral of Charles VIII,³ the reflections on the native cruelty of the Italians.⁴ There is some additional detail on the Neapolitan expedition, chiefly in respect of descriptions of places and ceremonies, probably derived from Octovien de Saint-Gelais or the official account upon which Saint-Gelais also drew. But when the moment of the return is

1 Chroniques de Bretagne, p. 242.R.

2 Ibid. p. 242.V.

3 Ibid. p. 259.V.

4 Ibid. pp. 262.V-263.R.

reached, the visit of Charles VIII to the martyrs at Saint-Denis is given "as is described and recited by the very famous historiographer Master Robert Guaguin (sic), to whom I will entrust the rest of the chronicle of King Charles"¹; and this promise is amply fulfilled, not only for the rest of the reign of Charles VIII but down to where the Compendium stops at the beginning of 1500. Moreover, even for the rest, ~~where some slight interest in Brittany again intrudes,~~ the basis remains Desrey's continuation of the Compendium, from which even trifling details with no relevance to Brittany are preserved, such as the account of the savages from the island off the coast of Africa² and the mystical phenomena in Germany.³

The Burgundian Jean le Maire de Belges speaks of "the chronicle of France" of "Messire Robert Gaguin native of Douai"⁴; and although he is more critical than a French historian would have been, twice accusing Gaguin of

1 Ibid. p. 257.V.

2 Ibid. pp. 267.V-268.R.

3 Ibid. p. 269.R.

4 Les Illustrations de Gaule et Singularitez de Troye, Bk. 3, pt. 1, ed. J. Stecher (2 vols. Louvain 1882), vol. II, p. 365. Gaguin was born at Calonne, on the Iys, not far from Douai.

"negligence"¹ and saying that others do so too, and on several occasions questioning his version of events, he nevertheless draws on the Compendium as a fundamental and authoritative source, even for the early period where it is at its weakest, and follows it uncritically into some of its ~~slips~~^{worst blunders}, such as the legend of the foundation of the kingdom of Yvetot² and the confusion over the patron of Crannus.³

Jean le Jars (Laziardus) goes even further and not only repeats these errors of fact⁴ but adopts verbal slips like calling the Black Prince Richard⁵ (improving on Gaguin by later saying specifically that Edward was succeeded by his "son" Richard⁶), and even gross misprints like Henry IV for Henry I.⁷ He also reproduces his sequences of events and his incidental reflections, such

1 Ibid. Bk. 3, pt. II; vol. II, p. 407, and Bk. 3, pt. III; vol. II, p. 460.

2 Ibid. Bk. 3, pt. II; vol. II, p. 420.

3 Ibid. p. 419. It seems plain, on the evidence of verbal similitudes, that this is derived direct from Gaguin, not from the Great Chronicles even in the printed editions. ~~On this point v. pp.~~

4 ^{Epitome Universelle d'Histoire,} (Edmond le Fevre and Jehan Kerver, Paris 1521 [?]) Bk. 3, chap. XXXIX F. CXL.R.V.

5 Ibid. chap. CCIX; F. CLXXIIII.R.

6 Ibid. chap. CCLXIII; F. CLXXVI.R.

7 Ibid. chap. CC; F. CLI.V.

as those on the French¹ fashions at the time of Crécy⁴, the suspicions of the French nobles of the possible consequences of the common people learning archery², the dread of a council felt by modern popes³ and their dislike of the Pragmatic Sanction.⁴

Hubert du Vellay, who concluded le Jars' history, speaks of "our Gaguin, from whom this history derives its source"⁵, and draws on the Compendium verbally, as when he describes the "inveterate hatred of the French name" which incited the obstinate resistance of the inhabitants of Alessandria.⁶ Writing in the XVth rather than the XVth century,^{however,} he is perceptibly more royalist in tone, and sometimes gives a different emphasis to episodes taken in substance from Gaguin, as for instance the conversation between Louis XII and the envoys from the University of Paris.⁷ When the Compendium ends, what follows is du

1 Ibid. chap. CCLVIII; F. CLXXIII.V.

2 Ibid. chap. CCLXX; F. CLXXXIII.V.

3 Ibid. chap. CCLXXIV; F. CLXXXVII.V.

4 Ibid. chap. CCIXXVI; F. CLXXXIX.R. The very wording is echoed: "Non secus ac perniciosam heresim execrati sunt." Gaguin has: "semper execratur".

5 Ibid. chap. CCC; F. CXCVIII.V.

6 Ibid. chap. CCXCVIII; F. CXCVIII.R.

7 Ibid. chap. CCXCIII; F. CXCVII.R,V.

Vellay's own continuation of it attached to the 1521 edition.¹

This debt is less pronounced in Jean Bouchet's Annales d'Aquitaine. Not only was Bouchet, in theory at least, primarily concerned with his own province; he was also a much more individual author, with his own interests and views and somewhat peculiar canons of composition.² He is frequently critical of Gaguin, very rightly in the case of the patron of Crannus and the death of Chilperic's son, for which he specifically and properly prefers the contemporary authority of Gregory of Tours.³ He also complains that Gaguin contradicts himself by first (and correctly) including Limousin, Périgord and Agenais in Aquitaine, and later adding them to it to form the duchy of Guienne for Henry III at the Treaty of Paris.⁴

A marked asperity enters this criticism when Gaguin affronts his provincial patriotism. Gaguin had said that Dagobert razed the walls of Poitiers to the ground and took the body of St. Hilaire to Paris. Bouchet, highly indignant, devotes a long passage to disproving this

1 V. p. 153.

2 On Bouchet in general, v. pp. 374-87.

3 Les Annales d'Aquitaine, Pt. 2, chap. IV, ed. Abraham Mounin (Poitiers 1644), pp. 69-70, 77.

4 Ibid. Pt. 4, chap. I; pp. 173-4.

assertion, "which is incredible, for Gaguin is a modern author, and does not adduce any ancient historiographer as a witness"¹. But he is so much roused on this point that he is prepared to take advantage of his measure of Humanist emancipation to say uncivil things even about the officially sacrosanct Great Chronicles. They "are in the vernacular, and altogether corrupt...contain many lies and imaginary things...", "are convicted of "falsehood and error".²

When not up in arms for someg cherished belief or loyalty of this kind, Bouchet treats the Compendium as authoritative. He cites Gaguin by name a considerable number of times³, ^{among others} for the opening description of Gaul, ³ the mitigating virtues of Brucechild, the demoralisation of Raguherx Margherit, the council of Aix-la-Chapelle, the division of ~~Raguherx~~ the blow given by Louis XI as dauphin to Agnes Sorel,⁴ the length of the English dominion in Guienne,⁵ the

1 Ibid. Pt. 2, chap. V; p. 81.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid. Pt. 1, chap. I; p. 1.

4 Ibid. Pt. 4, chap. VIII; p. 259. The anecdote is not in fact in the Compendium or in Desrey's translation. Whether the ~~error~~ arose with Raguherx Bouchet or earlier, it has led modern historians to quote the story mistakenly on Gaguin's authority.

5 Ibid. p. 261. He questions Gaguin's figure, but is disposed to attribute it to a printer's error.

character of Ambroise de Cambrail¹, the funeral of Charles VIII², even though here Bouchet claims to have been present in person.³ The citation in this last case is full and very reverent: "And whoever wishes to read of it should consult the end of the chronicle of the most praiseworthy chronicler Messire Robert Guaguin (sic), Doctor of Laws and Grand Minister of the Order of the Mathurins, who was eloquent above all the other French chroniclers of his age." It is interesting that some of the episodes thus quoted from Guaguin are familiar from the Great Chronicles. No doubt the authority of the Great Chronicles had declined considerably by the middle of the XVth century; but they could scarcely have been displaced so thoroughly by an author not felt to be in some sense official. Bouchet only once, in the reference to the expulsion of the English from Paris during the rule of Etienne Marcel, gives even a double reference: "In the Great Chronicles of France, and in Guaguin (sic) whom follows them."⁴

Bouchet may also have used the Compendium without acknowledgment on other occasions. Many of the early instances of this might have come from the Great Chronicles, etc

1 Ibid. chap. IX; p. 280.

2 Ibid. chap. X; p. 319.

3 But v. p. 318.

4 Ibid. chap. V; p. 208.

and some of the later from Basin. But the accumulation of closely similar passages is suggestive, especially since we know that Bouchet made free and in general trustful use of the Compendium.

The curiously old-fashioned, at least partly old-fashioned, character of these mid-XVth century histories will be discussed later. A further point of interest, tending to confirm the general impression here given, is that the writers of continuations to the Compendium shared this character to a very high degree.

Pierre Desrey, who seems to have been the author of the the very brief Latin continuation attached to the first posthumous editions, and whose translation and continuation were published in 1515, reproduces all the characteristics of Gaguin's last (contemporary) Book in an exaggerated form. The lack of sense of proportion and weighed choice of subject which here disfigures Gaguin's composition² is even more pronounced in Desrey's. His only real interest seems to be in the ceremonies which already took up excessive space in this part of the Compendium, and which are described by Desrey even more frequently and with more prolix detail. Over anything of greater importance he is precipitate and substanceless; and the modicum of serious history, too slender already in the Compendium, is swamped by this flood of

insignificant protocol.

Inexpert, uncritical and trifling, Desrey would not have been a good historian whatever style he had adopted, and he probably did better (or less badly) in this formless late-mediaeval chronicle than if he had attempted to vamp it up into some more sophisticated Humanist production. But it is significant that he did not choose to do so, though he seems to have been a theoretical admirer of the Humanist doctrines, twice speaking of his work as only a modest stop-gap until Paulus Aemilius should complete the histories on which he was labouring without cease.¹

Hubert du Vellay's Latin continuation attached to the 1521 edition of the Compendium is similarly a series of brief disjointed notes more suggestive of mediaeval annals than of Gaguin's original conception of an ordered literary Humanist history, a conception which it will be seen largely broke down with Gaguin himself once the Compendium reached his own contemporary period. Although writing in the next century, in the full age of Humanism, these successors of Gaguin, who may be supposed to have been in sympathy with the underlying character of the Compendium, were more rather than less traditional than Gaguin himself.

1 Les Croniques de France...composees en latin par frere Robert Gaguin...et translatees...en nostre vulgaire Francoys (Galliot Dupre, Paris 1515), FF.CCXXX.V, CCXXXI.R.

III

THE DE REBUS GESTIS FRANCORUM OF PAULUS AEMILIUS.

1. Origin and Composition.

(1) Life of Aemilius.

A. Origin. ✓ Little is known of Paulus Aemilius beyond the few fragments of incidental information which he himself provides. In the epigram on himself in what is probably his earliest surviving work, reprinted in the 1548/9 edition of the De Rebus Gestis, he says he was born in Verona, of an eloquent father, with two brothers and one sister, had lived in Rome, and was now settled in France under the patronage of "Cardinal Charles".¹ In the Dedication to this same Cardinal Charles de Bourbon he seems to imply that some misfortune had deprived him of all resources except the Cardinal's favour and his own wits.² And a little lower the "tenuis sortis homini" is clearly intended to be himself.³ He would seem to have been the Cardinal's secretary, if the writer of the note in the Hunterian Library copy of Gallica Antiquitas was well-informed: "Liber iste pertinet paulo Emilio

1 Gallica Antiquitas, F. IV.k. (Glasgow Hunter S.2.1).

2 Ibid. F.II.R.

3 Ibid.

Veronensi secretario olim domini Lugdunensis." And it would be interesting to know what was meant by the couplet:

Nondum extrema nouo manus est imposta libello.
In sacra me quoniam Scotides antra vocant.¹

The epitaph of Aemilius in the transept of Notre-Dame, which calls him a canon of the church and mentions the De Rebus Gestis, gives the date of his death as 5 May 1529.²

Jovius says that Louis XII rewarded him with a ~~kn~~ benefice in Notre-Dame,³ but Nicéron that this canonicate (in addition to other benefices derived from Louis XII) was the gift of Étienne Poncher bishop of Paris, who was responsible for the king having lured him from Rome to Paris to write the history of the French kings in Latin, and that he retired to the Collège de Navarre to carry on this work.⁴ Thuasne says he was born c. 1460, came to

1 Ibid. P. III.V. In Bib. nat.^{MS.} lat. 3934 this has been cancelled. In British Museum MS. Egerton 880 it is omitted.

2 Quoted by Father du Breuil and Claude Malvigne in Les Antiquitez de la ville de Paris (Paris 1640).

3 Elogia Doctorum Virorum, CXXXIX (Basel 1571), p. 282.

4 Memoires, vol. XI, p. 60.

France in 1483 and found a protector in Cardinal Charles de Bourbon, and composed the Gallica Antiquitas in 1487; Charles VIII patronised him after the Cardinal's death and continued to pay the pension which he had received from him.¹ P.S. Allen (who otherwise agrees closely with ~~Thuasne~~ Thuasne and may have copied him) speaks of this as a pension to the king's "orateur et chroniqueur lombard", received on 15 May 1489, and does not imply that the king cardinal had been paying it previously.² Neither Thuasne nor Allen give authority for this precise dating; and with the exception of the pension, for which documentary evidence exists, it seems possible that it is built up from the date of his decease, the remark of Erasmus that he spent more than twenty years on the work,³ and his own statement in the Dedication of Gallica Antiquitas to Cardinal Charles that he had been studying theology in France for four years without intermission before resuming his ancient interest in history ("which is a part of philosophy") by way of relaxation.⁴

This evidence is too sparse and discrepant for it to be possible to say with certainty how far Aemilius was

1 Epistole, vol. I, pp. 151-3.

2 Opus Epistolarum, (Ep. CXXXVI); vol. I, p. 315, n.

3 Ep. DXXXIV; ibid. vol. II, p. 479.

4 F. II.V.

entitled to be called historiographer royal. MS. 70 in the Library of Berne, with a collection of extracts on the history of France, has a note by a subsequent possessor that it among other volumes, "ancient fragments, instructions and memoirs", had been placed in the hands of Seigneur Paul Émile by order of François I for the purpose of "accurately drawing up the history of France", and citing letters patent issued to this effect by the Chancellor DU Prat.¹ This implies some measure of official recognition and hence official obligations, but not quite necessarily a regular official post; it might have been more by way of a temporary permit.

However this may be, Aemilius had clearly embarked on his plan for a general history of France before September 1488, the date of the death of Cardinal Charles de Bourbon. So far as we can gather from the work as it has survived and from the incidental remarks in the preliminary matter, he seems to have conceived it on ambitious lines, from the earliest times down to his own age, and (with one exception, to be seen later) to have kept this purpose quite steadily in view, although his

1 L. Delisle: "Documents parisiens de la Bibliothèque de Berne", in Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Île-de-France, XXIII (1896), pp. 225-98.

execution was tentative and fitful, involving a number of false starts and duplications.

(11) T₂₂ MSS.

↙ The first stage in the process was represented by the MSS., none of them dated and only some bearing any internal evidence of date, but presumably all preceding the printed editions and to be regarded in some measure as first drafts, although the earliest covers ground which was ultimately abandoned in the De Rebus Gestis.

(α) Gallica Antiquitas. 2 Books on the history of the Gauls, from their descent from the Scythians to their capture of Rome under the leadership of Brennus. At least three copies exist: (α¹) Bib. nat. MS. lat. 3934. (α²) B.M. MS. Egerton 880. (α³) Glasgow ^{MS.} Hunter S. 2. 1. These, with some minor differences of arrangement, are in substance identical.

(β) Francie Antiquitas. 5 Books on the history of France from the conquest of Gaul by Caesar to the beginning of the civil wars between the sons of Louis I. This is in two parts: (β¹) Bks. 1, 2, 3 (Caesar to the coronation of Charlemagne); Glasgow MS. Hunter T. 4. 15. (β²) Bks. 4, 5 (the coronation to the civil wars); B.M. MS. Harley 3711.

(γ) Francorum Imperium. One Book, but described as ^c Book 5. If it were not for this, one would assume it to

be the draft from which Bks. 4 and 5 of Francie Antiquitas were subsequently expanded. In β Bk. 4 is entitled the Empire, Bk. 5 the Civil Wars. The alternative explanation is that it was an abridgment from them for some special purpose, and this is suggested by its being slightly ~~less~~ more full on some points, in which this additional matter takes the form of some intelligent and interesting observations more likely to have been introduced than removed in a revised copy. These supply detailed discussion of the scepticism of Aemilius on the legend of Roland and on Turpin as a source in general; the civil wars, and how our picture of them has been distorted by the misrepresentations both of partisan contemporaries and of later authors, blinded by their horror at the unnatural behaviour of Louis I's sons²; the reasons why the alleged Lament of of Louis I is almost certainly a forgery³ (this last, which is most cogently and wittily argued, is not in β at all). Some orations and reflections are preserved, but not all. The correspondence is on the whole very close, both in the order of the material and verbally, particularly in the opening

1 y, F. XII.R.

2 Ibid. Pf. XVII. V.XVIII.R.

3 Ibid. Pf. XXIV.V-XXIV.R.

passages, where again γ is longer, with a whole side of fine language before reaching where β^2 begins. It starts at the same point, but stops a little earlier (with the division of the empire between Louis I's sons), and seems to have been designed to lead on to δ (the phrase "recentior Francia" is used for Charles the Bald's kingdom in κ the penultimate sentence), though there is some overlapping. Bib. nat. MS. lat. 5936.

(δ) A Recentiore Francia Gesta. One Book, and called Book 1, as if some new start was being made. From the dismemberment of the empire among the sons of Louis I to the accession of Charles the Simple. Bib. nat. MS. lat. 5935.

It will be observed that all these MSS., though obviously each representing an independent attempt, begun and abandoned on different occasions, and separately produced, each with its own introductory matter (though appropriately hardly any in β^2 and γ , which were specifically continuations) and elaborate title-page, do nevertheless form a connected series, with the one omission of the history of Gaul from the sack of Rome to the conquest by Caesar, which was of no import, as $\kappa\kappa\kappa$ Aemilius subsequently abandoned the Gauls altogether. That they were so regarded by subsequent scholars is

indicated by Duchesne's reference to De Rebus Gestis as having a Proemium on the antiquities of Gaul (Gallicam Antiquitatem) which however is missing from all the printed editions.¹

This plan gave Aemilius a firm groundwork for the early period in his final version, which in parts follows the MSS. very closely. The reflections in connection with the Mayors of the Palace on the danger of allowing ambition and faction to take root² are copied from ³them; and in the account of the deposition of Childeric the comments on the difficulty entailed by the loyalty of the French to their kings are almost verbally the same, and the speech of Burchard of Visiburg is very similar though longer in ⁴β'.

Thus for this part Aemilius had only to adapt, not to compose afresh. This might be thought to contribute at least to the disproportionate space allotted to the two first races. But this is a regular feature of the early compendiums, and seems derived rather from the similar

1 Series Auctorum Omnium qui de Francorum Historia... scripserunt (Paris 1663), vol. XIII, pp. 136-7.

2 F. XXV.R.

3 β', F. XXVII.V.

⁴
XX Ff. LV.R-LVIII.V.

arrangement of the Great Chronicles (due in turn to their more abundant narrative sources for this part) than to any accidental circumstances of an individual writer.

Aemilius moreover by no means repeats himself. The period covered by the MSS. (extending not quite to the end of Book 3 in the printed editions) has been redrafted, and a considerable amount of material added. Also, while in places abandoning some individual judgments running counter to the Great Chronicles,¹ he employs the fuller information which he had acquired meanwhile to check their facts. Thus the Great Chronicles by a slip call Griffio the eldest son of Charles Martel. In β^1 Aemilius copies this,² and builds up an elaborate passage on it: in De Rebus Gestis he has corrected the mistake.³

Gallica Antiquitas, presumably the first in date, contains some interesting features which it is cause for regret that Aemilius did not pursue later, such as the ethnographical and philological observations on early peoples, the topographical notes, the comparative studies of

1 δ , ff. XIII.R, XIV.R, XXI.V-XXII.R & (different estimates of the character of Louis the Stammerer, and of his two bastard sons).

2 F. LII.V.

3 F. XXX.V.

institutions, customs and superstitions, and the treatment of mythology as a source. But it is in general immature and fumbling, the meagre content of narrative inflated by long passages of fine writing and fine sentiment.

The works on Frankish France, closer in time and subject, are also closer in treatment, and where they differ the advantage is not always with the De Rebus Gestis. They are in most parts more full, which allows opportunity for more leisurely explanation of causes and effects, estimate of the value of conflicting sources and specific statement of why one is preferred or the case left undetermined, illustrative detail, and the sketching in of a general background within which the narrative is firmly set in its appropriate place. All this makes not only for depth but also for intelligibility and consequently interest.

Remilius in curtailing his texts has not always made the choice which a modern reader or critic would wish. We could for example have well spared the space from many of the orations, and even from some details on the Crusades, to make room for the discussions of historical facts in Francorum Imperium already alluded to; and there are a number of crisp and usually well justified remarks on the historical errors of others scattered throughout Francie Antiquitas which give it an individual character lacking in the formalised De Rebus Gestis.

Moreover, in the same way as in Gallica Antiquitas, and to a greater degree, these works have a wider range than the De Rebus Gestis. They are less strictly limited to the conventional Humanist themes of politics and war, and spread themselves on more general treatment of the history of civilisation. The De Rebus Gestis has nothing like the discussion of Spanish eminence in the arts and sciences¹ and of the Salic Law.² Aemilius here cites a wider range of sources than in the De Rebus Gestis. Contrary to rhetorical practice, he sometimes includes documents, such as the will of Charlemagne,³ which he says had never been consulted before, and had been shown to him by the chancellor of the Emperor Frederick III, a very zealous antiquarian.⁴ Though he does not say that terms of the alliance between Charlemagne and Irene⁴ came from a document, the formal language, very unlike the literary style of the Humanists, suggest that it may have. He also refers to the Acts of the church of Rheims for the

1 F. XCVIII.V. This tribute may be contrasted with Gaguin's letter to Francois Ferrabouc (v. p³²³) as illustration of the two authors' different attitude to European affairs (on which v. pp³²²⁻⁷).

2 (3²) F. VI.R.

3 Ibid. ff. XXI.V-XXII.V.

4 Ibid. F.II.V.

successor of Turpin,¹ and a sanction of Galixtus III which mentions him,² and the edict of Charlemagne allowing the Romans to choose what laws they pleased, which he says he found in the abbey of St. Victor.³

Monuments also are adduced as evidence. Besides a number of passing allusions, probably literary in origin, there is one specific reference to personal knowledge. After relating what was "popularly rumoured" as to the fate of Dagobert I, Aemilius adds that he would have feared to commit this to writing if he had not himself seen the tomb, very old and of very old marble, on which the scene was represented.⁴ It is not so plain that he intends to imply that he himself visited Carloman's tomb, "still seen" in his own age at Monte Cassino,⁵ or that reputed to be Turpin's (as to which he is highly sceptical: "As if there had not been plenty of bishops before Charlemagne's time, who in other wars might have been buried with similar rites...") at Arles.⁶ Even more interestingly, he here sometimes speak speaks of having carried out research on the spot where

1 Ibid. F. XXI.R.

2 y, F. XII.R.

3 β^2 , F. XXVII.R.

4 Ibid., F. XXV.V.

5 Ibid. F. LXXI.R.

6 Ibid. F. XXI.R.

events took place. He mentions the inaccurate traditions which he heard at Iuna in connection with the Norman chieftan Birr, generally supposed to have been a Goth,¹ and makes some ~~interesting~~ tantalisingly vagueremarks on his investigations of the traces of the Frankish wars in Venice and the unreliable memoriahs of them set up by painters.² He menalls a dispute in his own young days between the ambassadors of the Emperor Frederick III and Louis XI on what was Charlemagne's right to the Empire.³

These points reveal Aemilius as a scholar of wider interests and more conscientious diligence than could be proved from the De Rebus Gestis alone. The MSS. thus enhance our confidence in the reliability of ~~the~~ the De Rebus Gestis and cause us to give Aemilius the benefit of the doubt when his wording is vague, and in general to raise our ~~own~~ estimate of it as a work of serious and scientific history beyond what it itself would have led us to infer.

On the other hand, as against these undoubted losses, there is a gain in the first place in competence of presentation. The De Rebus Gestis is better proportioned, better arranged, better written. It is less diffuse and

1 S, F. VII.R.

2 β^2 , F. V.V.

3 Ibid. F. XV.R?

rhetorical; the orations have been reduced in number and length; and the whole narrative and exposition are more smooth, crisp and assured. The irrelevant has been pruned with the relevant, and the resultant effect is of something less rich indeed but more perfect, a more complete and self-consistent whole.

Secondly, in the MSS. Aemilius retained a considerable bulk of fabulous matter, either from having not yet digested and winnowed his material, or from a timidity in the face of public opinion which he later to some extent overcame. It is invariably introduced by one of the traditional non-committal phrases, either the neutral: "It is said", or something implying still greater doubt ("rumour relates", "as is the tale in literature"¹), and sometimes ^{it is} ~~they are~~ discussed in some detail, either to be openly and courageously rejected, as in the case of the legends of Charlemagne and Roland,² or left ostensibly unresolved by a cautious wording which makes Aemilius own belief abundantly plain, as in the case of the ampulla.³ There is nothing amiss in all this, and where the rejections are positive it could be defended as a useful blow struck

1 β^1 , F. XCVII.R. (the threatening vision deterring Drusus from extending the Roman arms into Saxony).

2 β^2 , F. XXI.R, V; 9, F. XII.R.

3 β^1 , F.X.R. ~~On this, v. further p.~~

against obscurantism. But it takes up valuable space in a way which by implication gives these tales an importance which they do not deserve; and the simpler and bolder course of omission from ^{the} De Rebus Gestis is upon the whole more effective.

The MSS. then would seem to represent a transitional stage in Aemilius' development, when his interest in scientific scholarship was greater (or more openly revealed) and his individual opinion more free from rhetorical conventions, but when his taste and judgment had not yet acquired the maturity apparent in the De Rebus Gestis. On the relative value of the two sets of books no dogmatic ruling can be laid down, for it depends on the preference of each reader for one style of composition or another. Both in their different ways are ably handled and generally successful. The nearest approach to an assessment is perhaps that the MSS. show the possibility in Aemilius of a trend which we would rather he had pursued and perfected; but that as we possess them only in the fragmentary incoherence of a technique still in process of evolution (which moreover we have no proof that he would ever have mastered ~~thoroughly~~ ^{truly} or found ~~generally~~ congenial) the De Rebus Gestis in the serene grace of its completion and

harmony must be held to represent a higher achievement.

(iii) The printed editions. From the foundation afforded by these preliminary essays, Aemilius proceeded to the work which began to be printed in instalments some time in the second decade of the XVIth century, though he was constantly revising it, so that we cannot be certain that even in the form in which it has come down to us the De Rebus Gestis (which moreover was not finished) represents what would have been its ultimate form had Aemilius lived longer.

Four, or perhaps three, editions came out in Aemilius' own lifetime, each with additional Books and minor alterations, chiefly stylistic and touching the substance very little. There are remarkably few additions, and even some deletions.

A. 4 Books. Undated, but generally assumed to be 1517 and the princeps. In Bib. nat. ~~33~~³⁵ Res. I 22 there is a note on the title-page in faded ink, in a small informal hand: "aeditus ante ann 1516 nono cal martias
[or a?] a [?] epist Erasmi ad budaeu L I ep 16"¹; and lower in apparently the same hand: "emit antonius papilio anno

1 Sic, apparently. This must be the letter to Bude¹ already quoted p. 161, n. 3, dated 21 Feb. 1516/7.

1517 cal junii", and in capitals almost obliterated ~~xxx~~ by lattice-work crosses: "ANTONIUS PAPILIO ANNO DO. /MDXVII CAL IUNIIS."

[¹A²? Le Long, ²Niceron and ³Clement all list an edition of 6 Books, undated. Le Long dates it c. 1500, which is clearly wrong. He also describes it as extending down to 1223, which is circumstantial evidence, for it would agree with the conclusion of Book 6 in A.³ But they do not say where they found it or whether they have seen it themselves; and as the number of Books named in all these editions is wholly untrustworthy owing to the practice of repeating the title-page unchanged for new enlarged editions, it seems possible that there may be some confusion.]

A.³ 7 Books. The title-page says 4, ^cdubtless through repeating that of A.² Undated, but usually dated 1520. ~~xxxx~~
B. M. ~~595~~ 595. i. I.

⁴A. 9 Books, the title-page again saying 4. Bib. nat.
Res. I. ³⁵22A. (The Catalogue by a misprint says 3 Books.)

B. 10 Books, dated 1539. Bk. 10 (1388-1488) was put

1 Bibliothèque historique de la France (Paris 1719), p. 381.

2 Mémoires, vol. XL, p. 63.

3 Bibliothèque curieuse, vol. I, p. 62.

together by Aemilius' relative Daniel Zavarizzi from the notes which he had left¹. It also includes the Chronicon of Jean du Tillet, a résumé of the history of France in tabular form from Pharamond down to 1539².

B was reissued in 1544 (B¹) and 1548 (B²). It is somewhat peculiar that the editor or publisher of B¹, which came out rather as a reprint than a fresh edition 15 years after Aemilius' death and 5 years after the definitive edition, should have allowed himself to make not only alterations³ and omissions⁴ but even additions⁵. That these were not corrections of slips in B, discovered by

1 F. CCXLVIII.R.

2 On du Tillet, v. further pp.234-7.

3 "Hique Visigotthi dicti. Duobus enim potissimum nominibus iam inde antiquitus Gotthi dividebantur: alteri Ostrogotthi ipsorum lingua: nostra orientales Gotthi dicti alteri Visigotthi id est latina interpretatione occidentales Gotthi." (B: III.R.).
"Hique ipsorum lingua Visigotthi, nostra in occidentem vergentes Gotthi: qui uero paulo post Italiam tenuere, Ostrogotthi, id est latina rursus interpretatione in orientem vergentes Gotthi dicti." (B¹: III.R.).

4 "Non temere iter ingressus" (B: XXIII.R) has disappeared from between the "euocatus, cum" which is all that is left in B¹ (XXII.V).

5 "Misit. Isque potestate" (B: XXXI.V). "Misit ut Franci soluerentur iurisiurandi religione qua se Childerico deuinxerant. Is Romam profectus, ac ad Pontificem maximum admissus, potestate" (B¹: XXXI.R.).

subsequent² knowledge (improbable in itself after such a lapse of time) is shown by their not being isolated in B but occurring consistently in this form in A⁴ and A³. The changes are mostly unimportant and purely stylistic, but occasionally they seem to represent some individual opinion or purpose of the editor.¹ Such a degree of liberty taken with a posthumous text is an interesting comment on the high status enjoyed by the scholarly publishers of the XVth century.

After group A (editions ~~listed~~ in Aemilius' own lifetime) copies of these editions become too numerous for reference to them to be necessary or even possible.² B, representing Aemilius' own ultimate version of the first 9 Books and all we have of his preparation for Book 10, has been adopted as standard, and references are to it unless otherwise stated.

~~XXXXSources.XX(1)XXXXacknowledged Sources.~~

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- 1 "Pedes exosculatus" (B: ~~¶~~ XXXIII.R). "Pedes, ut ferunt, exosculatus" (B':XXXIII.R), which is by no means the same thing.
 - 2 For a general list of the editions, v. Appendix.

2. Sources and Method.

A. Sources. (i) Acknowledged Sources.

Cicero and St. Jerome for the origin of the Franks.¹

Orosius for the conversion of the Burgundians.²

"Bishop Gregory" (sc. of Tours) for the treatment of Roman prisoners by the Lombards³ and, in conjunction with Boccaccio, for estimate of the character of Brunehild.⁴

"Andreas the Monk" for the lineage of Pepin,⁵ the office of chancellor,⁷ the excommunication of Philippe I,⁶ Henry II's claim to Toulouse,⁸ the expedition of Baudouin of Auxerre to ask help for Jerusalem.⁹ This is André du Bois (Silvius) prior of Marchiennes, who in the early XIIIth century wrote a chronicle De Successione Francorum Regum in 3 Books, one for each race.

1 F. II.V.

2 F. V.R.

3 F. XVIII.R.

4 F. XIX.V.

5 F. XXIII.R.

6 F. LXIX.V.

7 F. LXX.R.

8 F. CXI.V.

9 F. CXLV.V.

Bede (verbatim) for prodigies before the battle of Tours.¹

Paulus Diaconus for the defeat of a Frankish expedition by the Lombards,² the symbolic adoption of Pepin by Liutprand.³

"Bibliothecarius Romanus" for Charlemagne's expeditions to Italy.⁴ This is the fictitious "Anastasius", supposed to have composed the Lives of the Popes which were in fact the work of successive hands,

"Annonius" for the remission of tribute from the Lombards by Clotair II⁵ and (verbatim) for the fate of Charles the Bald.⁶ This is Aimoin, the Xth century monk whose compilation, with its continuations, was the major source for the early parts of the Great Chronicles.

Tacitus for canals in the Seine,⁷ Norse antiquities.⁸

Liutprand of Ticino⁹ for the holy lance ~~extorted~~ extorted by the Emperor Henry I from King Raoul.⁹

1 F. XXVIII.R.

2 F. XX.R.

3 F. XXIX.V.

4 F. XLIIII.R.

5 F. LVIII.R.

6 F.XX.R.

7 F. XIV.V.

8 F.IX.R.

9 F. LXII.V.

Sigibert also for this episode, and for the first consecration of Pepin by Boniface of Mainz.¹ This is Sigibert of Gembloux, the XIIth century monk whose universal chronicle with its continuations was the foundation of many late-mediaeval compilations.

Yvo bishop of Chartres for the excommunication of Philippe I,² the coronation of Louis VI elsewhere than at Rheims.³

Aemilius Probus and Justinian's law-books for the institution of scribes in Rome.⁴

Otto of Freising for the lance extorted by Henry from Raoul,⁵ the career of Robert Guiscard,⁶ the numbers in the First Crusade,⁷ Abélard, Porré and St. Bernard.⁸

William of Tyre for the capture of Antioch,⁹ the siege

1 F. XXXIII.V.

2 F. LXIX.V.

3 F. XCVII.V. For the two letters from which these passages are very closely drawn, V. S. Ivo: Epistolae, Eps. LXXXIV⁷, CLXXXIX (PLC, vol. CLXI⁷, Paris 185), vol. CLXII, cols. 105-6, 193-6. (CLXII)

4 F. LXX.R.

5 F. LXII.V.

6 F. LXVII.V.

7 F. LXXVI.R.

8 F. CVIII.R.

9 F. LXXXVI.R.

of Jerusalem,¹ the grant to the Venetians,² the name of Cairo,³ the Mamelukes,⁴ the fate of Barbarossa,⁵ the ~~xxxx~~ description of Egypt.⁶

Baldricus bishop of Dol for the saints seen in the battle outside Antioch.⁷ Baldricus was a contemporary historian of the First Crusade.

"Geoffrey, a contemporary [sc. XIIth century] author" for the succession to the church of Bourges.⁸ Galfridus prior of Vigecois wrote a chronicle of Limousin in continuation to that of Ademar de Chabannes. The succession of Pierre Esserouard is mentioned here,⁹ but without the detail given in the De Rebus Gestis. It also occurs in the chronicle of Guillaume de Nangis, which Aemilius almost certainlyⁿ used.

1 F. ~~CXII~~ XCII.V.

2 F. C.V.

3 F. CXIIII.R.

4 F. CXV.V.

5 F. CXIX.V.

6 F. CXXXVII.R.

7 F. CXXXIX.V.

8 F. CVII.R.

9 Chap. XLIX, ed. Ph. Labbé (Novae Bibliothecae Manuscriptorum Librorum, Paris 1657), Vol.II, p. 305.

"Robert the Abbot" for Henry II's claim to Toulouse¹ and recommendation of the Portuguese match to Philippe of Flanders.² This is Robert de Torigni, the continuator of both Sigibert and Guillaume de Jumièges.

"The Abbot Uspergensis" (elsewhere Auspergensis) for a justification of Frederick II,³ the original name of the Franciscans.⁴ This is the Chronicon Uspergense, composed in the XIIIth-XIVth centuries by Abbots Burchard and Conrad.

"Stephen" for the derivation of the name of the Saracens.⁵ This is Stephen of Byzantium, author of a geographical compilation entitled *Περὶ Πόλεως*.

Hilermus (or William) bishop of Tournai for the treaty between Philippe II and Baudouin of Flanders,⁶ the quarrel between Philippe IV and Boniface VIII.⁷

Pliny and John of Hungary for the Scythians,⁸ and John again for Nicopolis.⁹ This is John of Thwrocz, "now

1 F. CXI.V.

2 F. CXVII.V.

3 F. CXLV.V.

4 F. CXXXI.R.

5 F. CXLVI.V.

6 ~~A. III.12~~ F. CXXV.R.

7 F. CLXXII.V.

8 F. CXLVI.V.

9 F. CCKVIII.R.

archdeacon of Kikullew, general vicar of Strigonia in spirituals of the church of Transylvania, then, though unworthy, its confidential notary".¹

Gaguin for the fixity of the Parlement in Paris.²

Ammianus Marcellinus for the Salii (in connection with the Salic Law).³

Baldus (the famous lawyer), Johannes Lignanus, the abbot of Saint-Vaast, Froissart, "those who wrote the lives of the popes" (presumably Platina, since the Liber Pontificalis does not reach this period), letters of a precentor of the Church of Paris, Anthony bishop of Florence (Antoninus of Florence, author of a highly popular mid-XVth century compilation, based largely on Aretino), for the Schism.⁴

Pius II for the three armies of the Emperor Henry VII,⁵ the vision of Charles IV.⁶

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- 1 Prologue to Pt. 3 of his Chronicon Hungarorum (Rerum Hungaricarum Scriptores, ~~Frankfurt~~, heirs of Andreas Wechelus, Frankfurt 1600), p. 93.
 - 2 F. CLXVI.R.
 - 3 F. CLXXXI.R.
 - 4 F. CCIV.V-CCV.V.
 - 5 F. CLXXV.V.
 - 6 F. CLXXXVII.R.

To this list Book 10 (presumably in this respect the work of Aemilius, as Zavarizzi is unlikely to have sought after fresh sources) adds: Commynes for the casualties at Montl'hery,¹ the Cardinal of Pavia, whose testimony it prefers to his for the attitude of Charles the Rash towards the Roman legate.² It also cites Pius II for the bishops imposed on Liège by the rival popes,³ and Antoninus of Florence for Jeanne Darc⁴ and the Council of Florence.⁵

In addition to giving these specific names (creditable in number compared with other Humanists), Aemilius refers to other sources in the more usual imprecise way.

"The writers of this people" (sc. the Burgundians) for Clotildis' intercession for her country,⁶ the division of Burgundy.⁷

"The Greek authors" for the Iconoclasts Leo and Constantine.⁸ Aemilius was interested in the affairs of

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- 1 F. CCXXXV.R.
 - 2 F. CCXXXIX.R.
 - 3 F. CCXXXVII.V.
 - 4 F. CCXXV.V.
 - 5 F. CCXXXVIII.V.
 - 6 F. VII.V.
 - 7 F. CXGIX.V.
 - 8 F. XXXIII.R.

the Eastern Empire and not ill informed. In the Preface to Gallica Antiquitas he speaks of delaying publication till he had had the opportunity of looking up some things in Greek sources (which were affording him more material than the Latin) as to which he did not sufficiently trust the translators (interpretibus)¹. This implication that he knew Greek would receive confirmation from the reference already given to Stephen of Byzantium if we did not know that in the Middle Ages Stephen was much more widely quoted than read; people gave on his authority statements which are not in fact to be found in his text.²

"The Gascon annals" for Roncevaux,³ an expedition to Spain.⁴

"The annals of France" for Charlemagne's expeditions to Italy,⁵ the speech of the legate to the troops about to engage Pedro of Aragon,⁶ the quarrel of Philippe IV and

1 α^1 , F. III.V.

2 Preface of Abraham Berkeley in ed. Holstein and Dindorf, (4 vols. Leipzig 1825), vol. I, p. xii.

3 F. XLIII.R.

4 F. LXVII.V.

5 F. XLIII.R.

6 F. CLII.R.

Boniface VIII,¹ the division of Burgundy.² This is ~~xxxx~~ presumably the Great Chronicles in some form, Latin or vernacular. It is not clear whether it should be taken to include the sources of the Great Chronicles. There are a number of small variants which might have come from these, but which hardly seem to justify their inclusion as distinct sources. Book 10 also cites the annals of France for the death of Charles the Bad of Navarre,³ the prowess of the English archers at "Africa",⁴ embassies from Spain and Hungary to Charles VI.⁵

"The Norman historians" for the marriage of Roſlo and Gille,⁶ the defeat of Henri I in Normandy,⁷ the battle of Hastings (coupled with "the Danish annals").⁸ The third instance suggests that Aemilius was referring to Ordericus Vitalis or Guillaume de Poitiers rather than his more usual source Guillaume de Jumièges, who does not

1 F. CLEXXII.R.

2 F. CXCI.V.

3 F. CCXIII.R.

4 F. CCXV.V.

5 F. CCVII.V.

6 F. IX.V.

7 F. LXVII.R.

8 F. LXIX.R.

include the detail of the feigned flight of the Normans luring the English from their position. But Aemilius could have added this from William of Malmesbury. This vague type of description, however, would not bind him to mean always the same author by the same phrase.

The "German" or "Imperialist" writers for Henry V's Italian expedition,¹ the marriage of Henry VI and Constance of Sicily,² the wars of Manfred and Charles of Anjou (coupled with the variant version of the Florentines),³ the recall by Lewis IV of the vicariate which he had granted to Edward III.⁴ A whole body of German monastic but semi-official annals supported the cause of the Emperors, and almost any could be responsible for most of the statements attributed to them here. The probability is that Aemilius used one of those with which we know him to have been familiar; but he may have gone further afield.

"The Hungarian historians" for the passage of the members of the Second Crusade through Hungary.⁵ The "historians" here are certainly John of Thwroc aggin,⁶

1 F. XCIX.R.

2 F. CXX.R.

3 F. CLII.R.

4 F. CXXXIX.V.

5 F. CVIII.V.

6 Chronicon Hungarorum, Pt. 2, Chap. LXVI; p. 76.

a good example of the looseness of citation mentioned above in connection with the Norman sources.

"The Breton authors" for the name of Pierre Mauclerc.¹

"The Dauphinois annals" for the vision of Charles IV.²

(ii) Unacknowledged Sources. The authors whom Aemilius used without naming them at all are of course still more difficult to trace, and here the problem is of greater scope than in the case of Gaguin, whose professed sources cover his narrative except for some minor points of detail. Aemilius on the contrary has long and important passages for which he gives no authority, and to identify them all would be a vast if not impossible task.

Gervase of Tilbury for the quotation from St. Jerome on the Franks?³

Aretino for the effect of Roman greatness on the surrounding nations?⁴

Ado of Vienne for the pretext of the Anglo-Saxons that the Britons had not paid them their stipulated wages,⁵ the invasion of church property by Vaifar of Aquitaine?⁶

1 F. CXLIII.R.

2 F. CXXXXVII.R.

3 F. II.R.

4 Ibid.

5 F. III.V.

6 F. XXXVI.V.

The Chronicle of Brabant for the speech of the Neustrian exiles asking to return,¹ ~~the devotion of the~~
~~Cueff-wives~~², the ejection of Eucherius of Orleans and Robert of Rheims from their sees by Charles Martel,³ the sending of Fuldradus bishop of Saint-Denis to his tomb by Eucherius?⁴

John of Ypres for the finding of a snake there instead of the body,⁵ a detail in the genealogy of the counts of Champagne⁶ (otherwise from Sigibert), the fall of the walls of "Avallon"⁷ (Antoninus of Florence, a more probable source in himself, mentions the incident but not the name), the error that the first revolt against Louis IX was led by his uncle Philippe count of Boulogne?⁸

Einhard for the proverb of the Eastern Emperors: "Have the Frank as a friend, but not as neighbour",⁹ the form Cephalenia for Cephalonia?¹⁰

1 F.XXIIII.R.

~~2 F. CXLVII.R.~~

2 3 F. XXXI.R.

3 4 X. Ibid.

4 5 Ibid.

5 6 F. IX.V.

6 7 F. LXV.V.

7 8 F. CXLII.V.

8 9 F. L.R.

9 10 F. LI.R.

Almost certainly Guillaume de Jumièges for details on Normandy.¹

Reginon for the murder of Godfrey of Denmark,² the charge against the wife of the Emperor Arnulf?³

William of Malmesbury for the suspicion that Robert le Diable poisoned his brother,⁴ (the penance of Foulques of Anjou,⁶) The French king's guardianship of William of Normandy,⁵ Baldwin of Flanders as brother-in-law of Philippe I,⁷ the persecution of the count of Aquitaine by Geoffrey Martel,⁸ and the heirs of Geoffrey,⁹ the unpopularity of Harold before Hastings,¹⁰ the feigned flight of the Normans there,¹¹ the Biblical quotation of Henry V to Gelasius II?¹² The origin of the last episode

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- 1 Passim, particularly Ff. LX.R,V and LXVI.R-LXVIII.V.
 - 2 F. LVIII.R.
 - 3 F. LIX.R.
 - 4 F. LXVI.R.
 - 5 F. LXVI.V.
 - 6 F. LXVIII.R.
 - 7 F. LXVII.V.
 - 8 F. LXVIII.R.
 - 9 F. LXIX.R.
 - 10 F. LXVIII.V.
 - 11 F. LXIX.R.
 - 12 F. XCIX.R

would appear to be an account, which has not survived, of Henry's Italian expedition by David Scot bishop of Bangor. But as it was accessible to William of Malmesbury,¹ it might still also have been to Aemilius. The attribution is also to be found in Ekkehard of Aurachs.²

Ordericus Vitalis for the foundation of Cîteaux³ (though there are many variant accounts of this, and Aemilius' version cannot be absolutely identified with any), William I's troubles with Malcolm of Scotland and the Danes,⁴ his administrative and ecclesiastical reforms,⁵ and the strange episode at his burial.⁶

Probably the Chronicon Comitum Flandrensiū for the details on Flemish history,⁷ the murder of Charles of Flanders and the fate of the perpetrators⁸ (perhaps in

1 De Gestis Regum Anglorum, Bk. 5, chap. ccccxx, ed. Stubbs (RS, 2 vols. London 1887-9), vol. II, p. 499.

2 Chronicon Universale, ~~xxxxxxx~~ (PLC⁷, vol. CLIV, Paris 1881), col. 451 and n. 114, cols. 1021-2.

3 F. CV.V.

4 F. LXIX.R.

5 Ibid.

6 F. LXX.V. V. Note 1 at end of chapter.

7 Passim, particularly Ff. LXX.R, CXVIII.R,V.

8 Ff. C.V-CIII.R. V. Note 2 at end of chapter.

conjunction with the vernacular Annales de Flandre), Philippe van Artevelde himself, not his companion, refusing attention to his wounds¹, the French burning the ships in the harbour of Damme for fear they should fall into the enemies' hands.²

Suger for the doubtful reading socer in the story of the murder of Guy of la Roche-Guyon³, Laon instead of Noyon (like the Great Chronicles) for the scene of the ravages of Thomas de Marle⁴?

Guillaume de Nangis for the councils held by Eugenius III at Paris and Rheims⁵, Abelard's application to Gilbert Porre of : "Dum proximus arderet Ucalegon"⁶, the proposal of the Crusaders to give Damascus to Thierri of Flanders⁷, the marriage of Agnès daughter of Louis VII to

1 F. CCXII.R.

2 F. CXXXIII.R.

3 F. XCVIII.R. The MSS. of Suger are inconsistent, all giving first socer and later gener. V. ed. of A. Molinier (Paris 1887), p. 53, n.4.

4 F. XCIX.R.

5 F. CVIII.R.

6 Ibid.

7 F. CXI.R.

the Eastern Emperor,¹ Philippe II's bigamous wife as Maria of "Moravia",² the marriage of Renaud de Dammartin to the daughter of Guillaume count of Boulogne³, the correct version that Thibaut of Champagne became king of Navarre through the death of his mother and uncle⁴ (where the Great Chronicles say "brother"), the Turks restoring only 400 prisoners to Louis IX after the treaty⁵?

The continuators of Guillaume de Nangis for the marriage alliance involved in the treaty between Frederick of Sicily and Charles of Anjou⁶ (not mentioned by Biondo, who gives the treaty itself), the making of Apamea an episcopal see by Boniface VIII,⁷ the succession of Eudes of Burgundy to Robert of Artois⁸?

The Anciennes Chroniques de Flandres for Louis IX sailing from Marseille,⁹ where the Great Chronicles have, apparently more correctly, Aigue[s]-Morte[s]?

1 F. CXIII.R.

2 F.CXXV.V.

3 F. CXXVII.V.

4 F. CXLIII.R.

5 F. CXLIX.V.

6 F. CXXXI.R.

7 F. CXXXII.R.

8 F. CLXXIII.R.

9 F. CXIVII.¹, CII.V. The second instance seems to come from Biondo.

The continuator of Géraud de Frachet for the list of Philippe¹ III's children by his two wives?

Almost certainly Villani for details and variants on the battle in which Pedro of Aragon met his death (his having 500 cavalry in ambush, where the Great Chronicles say 400, the debate among the French on hearing of it, the speech of the Constable Raoul², Pedro's restitution of the Balearic Isles by his will³), the story of Ugolino and the prophecy of his friend⁴, the siege of Catenzanum by Charles of Anjou⁵, the death of the daughter of the count of Flanders in French captivity⁶, the return of Philippe of Flanders from Apulia to help his fellow-countrymen⁷, the coronation of Robert of Anjou as king of Sicily by

1 F. CLVIII.R.

2 F. CLXII.V.

3 Ibid.

4 F. CIXIII.R.

5 F. CLXIII.V.

6 F. CLXVI.V.

7 F. CLXVII.R.

8 F. CLXIX.R.

9 F. CLXXI.R.

Clement V,¹ the coronation of the Emperor Henry VII at Epiphany 1311,² the siege of Cambrai by Edward I.³

In Book 10 we have possibly the anonymous Chronique des Pay-Bas⁴ for the French spurs found at Coutrai,⁵ Waurin for the dispute between the dying Talbot and his son,⁶ Basin for Pius II's support of the dauphin Louis' request to go on Crusade;⁷ and almost certainly Platina for the excommunication of Ladislas of Naples and investiture of Louis of Anjou as king of Sicily,⁸ (the defeat of the Emperor Rupert in Italy by Gian Galeazzo Visconti,⁹) the death of Alexander V at Bologna,¹⁰ the influence of Baldassare Cossa in the election of Sigismund as Emperor,¹¹ the long passages on Sicilian affairs and the end of the

1 F. CLXXV.R.

2 F. CLXXVI.R.

3 F. CLXXXVIII.V.

4 Collection de Chroniques Belges inédites, ed. Smet, vol. III.

5 F. CCXII.R.

6 F. CCXXX.V.

7 F. CCXXXIII.R.

8 F. CCXIX.R.

9 F. CCXX.R.

10 Ibid.

11 F. CCXX.V.

Schism,¹ Italian affairs,² the Council of Mantua,³ the gift of Savona in fief to Francesco Sforza by Louis XI,⁴ the defeat of Jean of Calabria.⁵

The dubiousness of most of these attributions is plain. Only perhaps Guillaume de Jumieges^{Villani} and the Chronicon Comitum Flandrensiū can be regarded as actually established, though probability amounts almost to proof in the case of Platina, Ordericus Vitalis and Guillaume de Nangis. In regard to the others, nothing more can be affirmed with safety than that the facts in question are recorded in the authors named, and that there is no inherent impossibility in Aemilius having found them there.

One unacknowledged source has been omitted from the list, both because the instances would be too numerous and because their very number renders the neglect (or deliberate refusal) to make any mention of it extremely striking and requires a treatment more full than is possible or appropriate in this context. It will be dealt with when the method of the De Rebus Gestis is under discussion. This

1 ~~xxx~~ Ff. CCXXII.R-CCXXIII.R, CCXXVI.V-CCXXVIII.V.

2 ~~xxx~~ F. CCXXXI.V.

3 F. CCXXII.V.

4 F. CCXXIII.V.

5 Ibid.

omission is Flavio Biondo, upon whom Aemilius not only drew to an infinitely greater extent than any other individual author (the Great Chronicles were on rather a different footing) but positively based the bulk of his narrative not directly concerned with France, which, as will be seen, was a considerable proportion. It is typical of the Humanist attitude to Biondo that Aemilius should not so much as acknowledge a debt of this vast dimensions. In Francie Antiquitas he pays a single inadequate tribute to him as "the most careful of the modern authors."¹ In the De Rebus Gestis even this has been suppressed.

A final word may be said on the principles on which this analysis of ~~the~~ the unacknowledged sources of Aemilius has been based. (a) Nothing has been included which occurs in any author whom Aemilius cites elsewhere and who has therefore been mentioned already among the acknowledged sources, even when the relation is as disproportionate and unexpected as for example his repeated use of Troissart for major narrative passages, and his single reference to him by name for (of all things) the Schism.

1 ²β, F. XXIV.V.

(b) Where two or more authorities exist for a statement, of which one is either professed or otherwise established as familiar to Aemilius, and the others are not, it has usually been preferred, though in some doubtful cases an alternative has been offered. This clearly could be incorrect and misleading, as nothing prevents the statement having been found in another source, even though it also occurs in one which was habitual. It would be difficult to say whether Sigibert of Gembloux, Otto of Freising or even the Chronicle of Brabant is responsible for the letter from the Emperor Henry IV to Philippe I imploring help against his son, and the quotation from Lucan which it contains.¹ But where positive evidence is lacking, it has seemed best to make the assumption suggested by inherent probability. The rumour that Robert le Diable poisoned his brother is² mentioned by xi Antoninus of Florence, William of Malmesbury, and the Chronicon Turonense. Aemilius used Antoninus freely; he probably used William; for the Chronicon there seems only the similar doubtful case of the death of the bishop who consecrated the usurper

1 F. XCVII.R.

2 F. LXVI.R.

Robert three days after the ceremony,¹ which occurs also in Sigibert. No one can prove that that the incident did not come from William or the Chronicon; but every one will feel the likelihood that it comes from Ant^onius.

(c) Where this distinction does not exist, and the sources stand more or less on an equal footing, the later has usually been preferred to the earlier. Sometimes again however an alternative has been given, and an exception must also be~~xxx~~ made where Aemilius' own sources of election are involved. A reference from Biondo or (in some connections) from the Great Chronicles would have a prima facie though not conclusive case in its favour, even if earlier in date. The reasons for this perhaps cynical canon will be apparent when Aemilius' treatment of his sources is discussed.

(iii) Distribution of Sources. (a) The majority of the sources listed above are strictly narrative in character and adduced as evidence for ordinary historical facts. (b) In the MSS. Aemilius, as has been seen, occasionally quotes documents. But in the De Rebus Gestis he conceals whatever use he may have made of them in the customary manner by fusing them in the text. On the one

1 F. LXII.R.

occasion where he appears to quote a document (the grant of privileges in the kingdom of Jerusalem to the Venetians)¹ he is careful to inform us that his authority is a narrative source.

(c) Personal knowledge has little relevance here. Aemilius did not bring the work down to his own period, and even his notes barely reach the time of his arrival in France. Moreover, a direct source of this kind would be the least likely to be included in ~~a~~ compressed notes, taken from books to which the author may not again have access; he would trust to his memory for this, and tend to addit at a later stage in the composition. Zavarizzi seems to follow his written texts closely, and we may assume that he did not go far outside them. As the editor of a French history, to be published in Paris, ~~the~~ may be presumed to have been in France at the time; but he does not state specifically in his Note to the Reader that he was. The only cases which seem possibly to belong to this category are the details on the fall of Constantinople,² the subsequent account of Turkish affairs² (though some of this may come from Commynes), the two ~~ff.~~ ^{ff.}

1 F. C.V.

2 F. CCXXII.R. Contemporaries of this could have been still alive to give Aemilius an account of it.

3 F. CCXIV.V.

on the first years of the reign of Charles VIII,¹ unless, as is very possible, Aemilius or Zavarizzi made use of Gaguin.

(d) Among literary sources we may include the classical texts, using the term very broadly, to cover what may be termed Christian antiquity, such as Jerome and the Institutes. These are largely historical in themselves, but Aemilius draws on them less for their historical facts than for their digressions into the general history of civilisation (ethnography, social institutions, ~~the~~ culture)². Stephen of Byzantium ~~is~~ might be given on similar grounds. For more recent times, there are the letters of Yvo of Chartres (if Aemilius read them as such, and did not merely find the substance in a compendium), Baldus and Lignanus, Boccaccio, and the speech of Aegidius Romanus on the coronation of Philippe² IV (if genuine, not a mere rhetorical exercise). This is a surprisingly poor yield, considering the generally literary character of the De Rebus Gestis. But the use of these literary sources is by its nature general and vague and therefore likely to be diffused and concealed. The De Rebus Gestis, like the works of all the more

1 ff. CCKLVI.R-CCKXVIII.R.

2 ff. CLXIIII.V-CLXV.V.

scholarly Humanists, was based on a background of literary culture which enriches (and sometimes discolours) it by a process whose individual components we often cannot ~~detect~~ detect, and of which Aemilius himself ~~xxxx~~ ~~xxx~~ in his long familiarity with his material may not always have been aware.

(e) General knowledge is similarly difficult to identify. A number of Aemilius' scattered remarks on the history and customs of early peoples, the growth of institutions, and religious affairs and topography, might be the product of general reading; but it would be rash to claim that no specific source could be found for any individual item. The detailed account of Abélard's unorthodox opinions¹ would for instance naturally be grouped here; but in fact it comes direct from Antoninus of Florence,² who took it from St. Bernard. The mediaeval epitomes did not keep very strictly to their subject, and much general knowledge was included in them incidentally, whether for purposes of illustration, edification or merely entertainment; and later writers, even of the more cultivated kind, drew on them for this more than might at first be apparent.

1 F. CVI.V.

2 Historiae, Bk. XVII (Iyon, 1643), F. CLXXIX.V.

(f) There seems no trace of Aemilius having anywhere made use of popular tradition, and this is precisely what might have been expected. As a Humanist he would despise it as vulgar and inartistic, and as a serious historian he would distrust its reliability, and quite rightly, since the limitations of his equipment and the historical science of his age did not allow him to disengage what foundation of fact might lie beneath the accumulated superstructure of distortion and fable, nor (even where they were wholly groundless) to appreciate their value as contributions to the history of society and beliefs. In the MSS² he had made use in this way of peoples' mythological explanations of their origins. But this was sanctioned by his classical models; and moreover it concerned the remote past, ~~xxxx~~ as to which legend had crystallised into something of respectability, and was thus not quite the same thing as legend still in the crude process of evolution out of contemporary rumour and superstition.

(g) At the other end of the scale, where history became too scholarly instead of not [^]scholarly enough, the De Rebus Gestis contains nothing drawn (at least avowedly) from monuments and archaeological remains. Aemilius doubtless feared the contamination of any supposed

association with the dryasdust school of Biondo, although this attitude was not quite universal among Humanists; Polydore Vergil, Pontano and Rucellai openly showed an interest in archaeology. In the MSS., as has been seen, Aemilius himself had been less narrow-minded.

B. Method. This list of authorities, acknowledged and unacknowledged, direct and indirect, would be extremely impressive if we could feel confident that Aemilius had studied or even consulted them all. But, as in the case Gaguin, such an assumption would be highly imprudent. Aemilius read more widely than Gaguin and made a better use of what he read; but we have no reason to suppose that he would have been any more scrupulous than other mediaeval or Humanist authors over citing the primary source which he himself had seen only in a secondary one.

For example, he cites the "Bibliothecarius Romanus"¹ as showing that Charlemagne only came twice to Italy. Now, there is nothing to prevent his having looked at the Lives of the Popes; it was a popular book, and there are several other passages for which he may have used it. But in this particular case he has clearly gone no further than Biondo, who introduces the same quotation to support the same

1 P. XLIIII.R.

¹
point, and uses almost identical words ("In Adriani vita non modo diligens, sed prope exuberans") to those of Aemilius ("Nimius prope in recensendis illius aetatis & Caroli Magni rebus") in stressing the exhaustiveness of the work. Again, Aemilius' quotation on the Franks from St. Jerome² is also used by Gervase of Tilbury.³ Aemilius never mentions Gervase, but he may well have used him. In any case, the Life of St. Hilarion from which the passage is drawn was obviously available to other compilers, or (as is still more probable) this particular quotation was bandied about by those dealing with the origin of the Franks.

It is this characteristic which makes it perhaps not unduly uncharitable to lay down the rule given above: that on the whole a later source is to be preferred to an earlier. This later source was a great deal more likely to be easily accessible, and also had the required information already assembled and sorted, so that the historian did not have to expend labour and judgment on prolonged researches, an occupation congenial only to the

1 Historiae ab Inclinato Romano Imperio, Decade 2, Bk. I (Proben, Basel 1531), p. 159.

3 De Otii Imperialibus, Tit. 2, chap. X, ed. Liebermann and Paul (MGH, vol. XXVII, Hanover 1885), p. 373.

(2 F.H.A.)

pure ^hscholar, not to the scholarly man of letters. When an author is named, or (still more) used without being named, a considerable number of times, we may assume that Aemilius actually handled his works, whether he made a thorough study of them or not; one or two references leave the question undecided, to be judged by internal evidence or general canons of probability. On this basis, a rough estimate may be made of Aemilius' choice of sources.

After the Saint-Denis Chronicles and Biondo, both on a footing rather different from any others, and Commynes for Book 10, for which we cannot be sure how far Aemilius himself was responsible, the authors whom he uses by preference are Antoninus of Florence and Sigibert of Gembloux (possibly with some expansion from the Carolingian annals on which Sigibert is largely based), and then, to a much lesser degree, Guillaume de Nangis, Villani, Froissart, and, in rather a different way (each for its special purpose, and therefore extensively in certain parts but not regularly throughout) William of Tyre and the Flemish and Norman chronicles. All these except Villani and Froissart, and to some extent the Normans, are in the nature of compilations, made at a greater or lesser length of time after the event, and therefore entailing greater or lesser possibilities of corruption, either deliberate or accidental.

Nevertheless, when these deductions have been made from the merits of Aemilius with regard to his sources, these merits remain genuine and considerable. Apart from his preponderant dependence on narratives (which would now cause his method to be regarded as incomplete, to say the least), he conceived the broad treatment of his material on lines which were almost modern. He did not, like Gaguin, make an abstract of one source and then fill in gaps from a few others. He began by reading everything which he could lay hands upon bearing even remotely on his subject, and having done so made his own individual choice out of the accumulated material on some principles of weight of testimony, general probability, importance, interest, & dramatic quality, or use in telling on his side in some question. We may not always agree with him as to his inclusions and exclus^{ions}_{ions}; but they were at least deliberate, not imposed upon him by lack of any other version. He was using his own mind selectively in what was a reasonably wide field.

This is not to say that he did not found the bulk of his straightforward narrative as to France itself on the Saint-Denis Chronicles. The inevitability of this in the circumstances has already been dealt with in discussing Gaguin. But as he gradually collected his wider material, he altered, amplified and excised, until the original source,

though still very properly remaining central, is no longer exclusive or even dominant but falls into place as one among many, to be judged by the same canons and checked ~~by~~ by them as they by it, instead of being the infallible Gospel, the norm by which the truth of others was to be judged.

In fact the whole handling of the Great Chronicles could hardly be improved upon, given the circumstances in which Aemilius was writing. Naturally, he copies them more uncritically than a modern historian would, and sometimes follows them into slips from which consultation of even their direct sources would have saved him. He speaks of the domestic conspiracy against Henry I being headed by his chamberlain Ugo¹. The Great Chronicles refer to his chamberlain², and separately later to a very intimate servant Hues. But the MSS. of Suger put only H., except one which has Henricus, and only the Great Chronicles call him Hugh.³

Yet the adhesion of Aemilius is never blind. He corrects their facts from other sources, as the length of

1 F. C.R.

2 Louis VI, chap. XIV; vol. V, p. 219.

3 Ybid, n.6.

the reigns of Lothaire and Louis le Fainéant from Sigibert,¹ although these emendations are sometimes in error, as in the change of the name of the Constable Raoul de Nesle into Arnulphus², a slip which may have been derived from Gaguin. He gives different versions of episodes or interprets them differently, adds a mass of material from both French and foreign sources, modifies the national attitude of the Great Chronicles from his European standpoint in the later parts, softens their crudity and credulity by omission of the more fabulous and trifling matter, and prunes their more irrelevant redundancies. He has in fact very well achieved the purpose of the more serious Humanists to ^{into} reduce reason and order into their primitive material.

The extent to which he makes use of Biondo is rather a different matter. There was nothing of the same necessity for it, for Biondo was neither the official authority for any nation nor the only source for general European history. Even admitting Aemilius' somewhat doubtful assumption that the history of France involved the greater part of the history of Europe also, nothing

1 F. IXIIII.R.

2 F. CLXIX.R.

prevented his drawing as much, or almost as much, on this subject from mediaeval and late-mediaeval compilations like Sigibert and Antoninus of Florence, in combination with the contemporary historians of each country such as Bede, Villani and the Carolingian annals, all of which were perfectly accessible to him. But it is plain that he placed more reliance on Biondo than on any of these, or else had a not unnatural preference for an author in whose work the maximum number of facts was assembled conveniently and attractively.

Whatever the reason, the amount he has taken from him bears no proportion to that from any other source. And not only are the extracts continual and prolonged; they are verbally extraordinarily close, especially for the early period. A few parallel passages may be given as examples.

AEMILIUS.

F. CXXIX.R. [The Latins regarded by the Greeks as] "avarae superbaeque genti ...Graeciam auro spoliare ...viro patriae...opus esse."

BIONDO.

p. 270. "pecunijs avarae et semper ante inimicae genti...urbem expilare."
p. 271. "viro indigere."

AEMILIUS.

F. II.V. "[Radagasus] in
Faesulanorum montium
vertices compulsus: dum
omnium rerum inops, suis
clam desertis...milites
eius incruenta victoria ~~expti~~
capti, & ut vilissimum
pecus venundati."

Ibid. "[The usurper
Constantine] ab illis
spe pacis illuditur."

BIONDO.

pp. 8,9. "Compulsus in
Faesulanum montem Radagasus,
inops consilij et cibi...
non caedes acta, non sanguis
effusa est...clam suos
deseruit...ut in vilissimarum
pecudum modum...venderantur."

p. 12. "A barbaris petita
pacis spem facientibus
illusus."

P Occasionally also Aemilius uses Biondo's turn of phrase with a slight alteration of substance or implication, a clear indication that the resemblance comes from actual verbal copying, not any coincidence of subject. In describing how the Asturians and ^{at} Cantabrians alone of the Spaniards avoided conquest by the Saracens ("Tota Hispania in ditionem Saracenorum venit, praeter Astures et Cantabros, qui mortalium ultimi in Romanorum ditionem venerant, & novissimi ab eis defecerant; & cum Visigothi Hispanis iura darent, nunquam imperata fecere, semper suis legibus ¹usi"), he has taken up Biondo's verbal ~~xxxxxxxx~~ antithesis

1 F. XXVI.V.

("...ceperunt, Cantabris Austribusque exceptis; qui sicut ultimi fuerunt in omni terra Hispania, quos declinans amisit Romanum imperium, et postea se a Visigothorum iugo¹ liberos seruauerunt...); but whereas Biomdo, as a patriotic Italian and an enthusiast for Rome, rather stresses the pertinacity of the Cantabrians and Asturians in loyalty to the Empire, Aemilius, writing as the official historian of France, and under the influence of the chronicles whose business it was to exalt the barbarian tribes from whom the new nations of Europe had arisen, turns this into the endurance of their resistance to conquest by Rome.

Aemilius has no echoes from other writers to anything like this extent. Once or twice he quotes verbatim (Bede for the prodigies before Tours,² Aimoin for the fate of Charles the Bald³). There is good reason to believe that he found both of these elsewhere; but we cannot be sure. In a few places he keeps close to his favourite authors, for instance to Antoninus of Florence (himself citing Sigibert) for Charles the Bald creating Boso king of Provence, "so that he might seem to give laws to kings also",⁴ and the odd episode of the Saracen Characux and his

1 *Historiae*, p. 136.

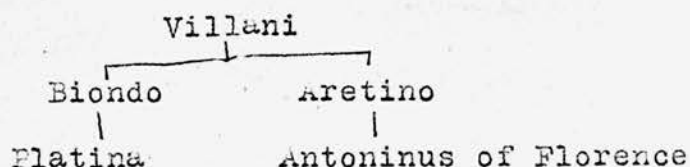
2 P. XXVIII.R.

3 P. LVIII.R.

4 P. LVII.R.

¹
advice. But in the main where he borrows a fact or idea he dresses it afresh in his own words, and sometimes slightly alters its implications, as in his version of Aretino's reflections on the effect of the Roman Empire on the surrounding nations.²

Of course when an event occurs in a number of sources (as the majority of events do) it is difficult to be certain as to its origin; and in the case of the Italian authors upon whom Aemilius drew so much, it is sometimes impossible in the absence of some outside clue (for example, an earlier writer obviously cannot have borrowed from a later or been responsible for narrating something after his own period). Stemming from Villani and his continuators, there is a double descent:



each member of which copied his predecessor with a fidelity which extended on occasion even to reproducing his blunders; and we have some reason to believe that Aemilius had at least looked at them all. The evidence is weakest for Aretino. But general probability is

1 Pf. CXX.V-CXXI.R.

2 F. II.R.

strongly in favour of his having done so. Aretino was highly popular with the Humanists, and the surprising thing is that Aemilius should not name him, for he was an authority who would have commanded respect. But that Biondo's history was his primary source is established almost beyond doubt not only by the extent and consistency of the use he makes of it, his general preference for it even over sources which he otherwise trusted, and the verbal echoes already quoted, but by the way in which one fact follows another in the same order, always one of the most significant indications of copying. This is especially so in the earlier parts, where the agreement is almost sentence by sentence.

This addiction to Biondo is undeniably a lapse from Aemilius' otherwise excellent "Nullius in verba" principle in regard to his sources. But three points must be taken into account in judging it.

In the first place, the dependence, though excessive, is not slavish. Aemilius does not treat Biondo as infallible either in accuracy or in opinion. He frequently gives a different version, rightly or wrongly, as to facts or episodes. He ^{has} gives the ordinary account of Arnulf as the son of Charles the Fat's brother Carloman¹, instead of

1 F. LIX.B.

Biondo's odd "quidam obscurissimo loco natus"¹. On the other hand, Biondo is right that Frederik^c II was crowned at Mainz²; Aemilius has followed the Chronicon Uspergense into saying Aix.³ Biondo is exceedingly severe on the treason of Stilicho ("dignam iustissimamque...de scelestissimo ultionem...qui iuxta Orosij uerba, ut unum puerum purpuram indueret, totius generis humani sanguinem dedit...")⁴; Aemilius, without palliating his guilt, speaks of the "bloody salary" which he received from Valentinian for his probably prudent handling of his allies, and treats the charge of aspiring to the tyranny as a mere pretext.⁵ Once at least he distinctly controverts him, though not by name. The Emperor Conrad was the son of Frederick II by Constance daughter of the king of Castile, not Yolande daughter of John of Brienne, "as some say"⁶. The "some" include Biondo.⁷ Sometimes, where

1 Historiae, Dec. 2, Bk. II; p. 176.

2 Ibid. Bk. VI; p. 274.

3 F. CCXXXII.R.

4 Historiae, Dec. 1, Bk. I; p. 10.

5 F. IIIII.R; "Cruenta merces...eum appetitae tyrannidis insimulans."

6 F. CL.R.

7 Historiae, Dec. 2, Bk. VII; p. 296.

the ~~inxxxxxxx~~ facts related are in substance the same, interpretation of them has been altered through a different point of view. In the account of the disastrous Fifth Crusade, Biondo's hostility to John of Brienne¹ is replaced by the less Guelf Aemilius' hostility to the Papal Legate.²

In these cases, Aemilius may give preference to ~~another~~ another author or introduce some variant of his own. He says that the Lombard Aistulf was killed by a boar; Biondo³ that he was seized with apoplexy while hunting; the Great Chronicles that he fell off his horse; the Continuator of "Fredegarius" that he was knocked off his horse by a tree; the Liber Pontificalis: "In venerationem (sic, but presumably (1.) venationem, unless this is yet a further variation) pergens diuino ictu percussus defunctus est". Amid such confusion, it is impossible to say what Aemilius was drawing upon here.

Moreover, it will be observed that these examples come from foreign sources, which had no official status for Aemilius and which he would regard as on an equal or

1 Historiae, Dec. 2, Bk. VII; pp. 279-80.

2 ff. CXXXVI.R.-CXL.V.

3 f. XXXVI.R.

* ~~xxxxxxxxx~~

inferior footing to Biondo, and that no mention has been made of the far greater expanse where (as in duty bound) Aemilius uses the Great Chronicles to contradict, replace or at least soften the intensely anti-French bias which in the later parts of his history Biondo probably himself felt as an Italian and certainly transcribed from Villani.

Secondly, the use which Aemilius makes of Biondo is upon the whole well-judged and skilful. Great as it is throughout, it is greatest in the parts where it is most appropriate, that is in the early days of the disintegration of the Empire and emergence of the barbarian kingdoms, which Biondo, whatever his inadequacies by modern standards, was the first historian to make an effort to disentangle from genuine contemporary sources, instead of remaining satisfied with the picturesque fables with which the credulity or the vanity of the new nations had invested their origins. Later Aemilius uses the Historiae for Italian, Eastern, ecclesiastical and general European affairs, not for France, as to which Biondo, in this later part, was both ill-informed and prejudiced.

This point must not be overstressed, for it may have had, partially at least, another cause besides conscious historical judgment. The same human instinct to avoid trouble which led both mediaeval and Humanist

historians to turn to a compendium rather than to original authors, gave them also a preference for the block use of sources. Having picked on one which, for whatever reason, appeared to them satisfactory, they were apt to take all they could from it before turning to another. To some extent this is a matter of pure chronology. When a satisfactory source comes to an end, the author is compelled to go in search of another. But this is not the only explanation of the process, for it takes place also where sources overlap in time, and in this case clearly is due either to a belief that the author is specially trustworthy for the period or subject in question (which if the belief is well-founded is a good reason), or purely to the inertia or force of habit which makes it easier to keep on with what the author has at hand.

Thus though the Historiae covers a longer period than Aemilius himself completed, and nearly all that to which his notes extend, yet his use of it is very unequal, and notably less in the later parts, where the sentence sequences and verbal echoes almost disappear. And though he uses Biondo, Sigibert and Antoninus of Florence side by side throughout while they last, it is marked that his peak use of all three lies in three clearly discernible blocks: Biondo till about the end of the reign of Charlemagne,

Sigibert and his continuators from the IXth to the XIIth century (where they desert him), and then Antoninus down to the end of his own work. But this grouping is upon the whole sensible; for though both Sigibert and Antoninus, in true mediaeval style, begin right at the beginning, they are here even more than elsewhere inferior to Biondo, and Aemilius has quite rightly made the greatest use of both for the periods most closely approximating to their own time. So, while allowing that his procedure here was not wholly without the character of a labour-saving device, we may (in view of his general intelligence and even conscientiousness in handling his sources) give him credit for having in the main planned it deliberately on rational principles of reliability and appropriateness.

Finally, if one subsidiary source (subsidiary, that is to say, to the Great Chronicles, the unavoidable core of the narrative) was to dominate the others, a better choice could hardly have been made at the end of the XVth century than the Historiae, which was not only extremely full but had genuine merit in making a beginning of introducing more scientific methods into mediaeval historiography by the weighing (instead of conflating)^{c_t} conflicting evidence, a preference for the oldest and most direct sources, and some use of the physical monuments of the past in addition

to the written word.

Aemilius then, besides using his chosen sources intelligently and discreetly, had made a good choice at the outset, and the De Rebus Gestis reflects this throughout. Aemilius himself seems to have had a clear and moderate mind, with no overpowering impulse towards either bombast or didacticism; but still he was consciously writing in the ^{the} historical tradition, with a Humanist audience in view, and the De Rebus Gestis might have been as empty and flaccid as other productions of the same school if it had not been stiffened by the backbone of the more precise and robust Historiae.

What has been said of Aemilius' treatment of Biondo can in general be applied, with the necessary modifications, to his other sources also. With the possible exception of his Greek, Hungarian and provincial sources, which do represent an interesting departure, (unless further research reveals them also as derived from some convenient compendium), his choice by modern standards is disappointingly narrow and convention; but it is upon the whole rational and sound so far as it goes. He uses few authors who were altogether discreditable; and he uses them in a way which shows a genuine and sustained if not very lofty level of reasoning power and historical sense.

3. Reputation and Influence.

A. Reputation. (i) Contemporary. Very little record has survived of how the De Rebus Gestis was received. It came out in successive instalments, none of very great length; and although it was the regular practice for these contemporary chronicles to be prolonged down to the date of each new edition, so that in a sense they were never complete, still the peculiarly piecemeal appearance of the De Rebus Gestis may have led readers to suspend a definitive judgment until they saw what the author regarded as the final version. But Aemilius died before bringing the work down to his own day; and although on reading any of the editions after B straight through we may feel it quite as much a unity as for example the Compendium, the contemporaries to whom it was chiefly familiar as fragments may well have regarded it as ~~xxx~~ something unfinished and not susceptible of over-all assessment.

The epitaph of Aemilius in Notre-Dame speaks not only of the "distinguished piety of his life" but of the outstanding learning of which his "History of the Deeds, of the Franks" would bear witness to posterity. Erasmus makes a rather chilly but not unfair estimate. He says that the De Rebus Gestis is more distinguished for

elegance than reliability, with a pure and concise but not always equal style, and that Aemilius had committed many errors through trusting his own judgment too much and not making sufficiently precise researches.¹ Jovius on the other hand gives an extremely warm eulogy; "Mille amplius annorum Gallicam Historiam, Laconica tamen brevitate perscripsisset...non interitura cum laude...".² Bernard de Girard du Haillan speaks of Aemilius having written the history of France "elegantly", though he criticises the excessive space allotted to matters not strictly French.³

Aemilius is not adduced as an authority to any extent comparable to Gaguin, but is frequently cited by Jacob Meyer with the acknowledgment that he was "a most eloquent writer",⁴ though Meyer's bitter hostility to France makes his use of the De Rebus Gestis in general critical. Brantôme at the end of the XVIth century still gives references to him, ~~xxxxx the great Paulus x x x x x~~

1 Le Long: Bibliothèque historique de la France (Paris 1719), p. 380.

2 Elogia Doctorum Virorum (Basel 1571), p. 282.

3 Histoire générale des roys de France (Paris 1576), Preface.

4 Commentarii...Rerum Flandricarum, ed. Antonius Meyer (Antwerp 1561), F. LXXIX.V.

gives references to him,¹ and calls him ² "the great Paulus Aemilius" and "the great and learned historiographer Paulus Aemilius".³

The impression created by these contemporary references is rather one of a general reputation enjoyed by the author than of a specially appreciative public for the book. The De Rebus Gestis was for many years on the stocks, and was known to be so and awaited with curiosity and respect even outside strictly Humanist circles. Pierre Desrey breaks off his Continuation of the Compendium with the observation: "But since in respect of such lofty matters (as Sallust said of Carthage) it is better to be silent than to speak too little or too coldly, I say no more; especially in view of the fact that the books, histories and instructions of the very eloquent and sage author Paulus Aemilius, which he writes daily, remain immortally in the light."⁴ And a little later: "Presupposing that Paule Emilius, modern, orthodox and

1 Oeuvres, L.J.N. Monmerqué^{3 vols.} (Paris 1822-3), vol. II, pp. 7, 61; vol. IV, p. 524.

2 Ibid. vol. IV, p. 207.

3 Ibid. p. 191.

4 Compendium (Galliot Dupré, Paris 1515), F. CCXXX.R.

scientific historian, should declare it better and more fully in his chronicle, in which every day he is solicitous to write and draw up laboriously the perfect fulfilment and entire effect of this most noble Chronicle." ¹

For this favourable disposition there might be three reasons independent of any merits of Aemilius himself. In the first place, he was in some sense the official historiographer. This, while by no means ensuring him against criticism, must have conferred a certain status and ~~disposition~~ inclined people to treat him with some deference.

Secondly, he had one of Gaguin's advantages, and to a higher degree. He also was in the literary fashion of the day, and even more so, yet not to an exaggerated extent. He was a true and thorough Humanist in a sense that Gaguin was not; yet the De Rebus Gestis, while satisfying those who demanded the "modern, orthodox and scientific historian" described (in terms so remarkable) by Desrey, need not have frightened off a cultured member of the ordinary more old-fashioned reading public. It is essentially a moderate book, without any of the Humanist affectations carried to excess; a late-mediaeval reader who had enjoyed Basin's Historia Caroli VII would find no difficulty in

1 Ibid. F. CCXXXI.R.

understanding it and little to shock or irritate. This was less the case than with Gaguin; but on the other hand the fashion to which Aemilius conformed more than Gaguin was that already dominant among articulate intellectual opinion and on the upward trend, even though slowly and incompletely, among the ordinary people also.

Finally, there is the well-known fact that the Humanist cliques formed themselves into little mutual admiration societies, from whose utterances it is extremely difficult to disengage not only what was the actual truth but even what they genuinely thought about one another. A preface or a laudatory poem or even a letter to a friend (many of these were literary exercises, designed for publication, or at least circulation) does not really tell us what was the reputation of the subject outside their own circle, even if we are charitable, or credulous, enough to take its professions at their face value. The other side of the picture is of course brought to our notice, and in strongly marked colours, on the frequent occasions when the Humanists quarrelled and turned their eloquence to attacking instead of championing their acquaintances. But, besides the very obvious consideration that this different version is likely to be even less well balanced in the opposite

sense, in the case of Aemilius we have not even the check of this suspect testimony. He really seems to have been justified in his claim that he had no enemy.¹ There is no record of his having quarrelled with any one, and a singular absence of any critical or malicious comment in connection with his name.

It is true that a good deal has been made of a supposed feud between him and Gaguin. The only evidence for this seems to be the Preface to edition D of the Compendium, in which Gaguin complains of the slanderous attacks of some foreign critic whom he does not name. The two allusions which might identify him with Aemilius are the phrase "foreign slanderer",² and Gaguin's boast that he at least has ~~xx~~ undertaken his work "not incited by any princely munificence". But this might have been directed against any one enjoying the patronage which Gaguin had sought for and failed to obtain; while the mere reference to a foreigner, applicable to so many of the figures in the French literary and scholarly world at the time, is far too vague to afford any indication of its object. Thuasne admits that nothing in the way of proof exists, and that this setting up of an anonymous critic for the

1 Epigram on himself at the end of Gallica Antiquitas,
L. F. IV.R: "Hoste vace."

2 Aemilius had used the word externus of himself. Ibid.
F. IV.R.

purpose of then demolishing him was a common literary device of the period.¹

Whether Gaguin meant Aemilius or not, he has confined himself to repudiating the criticism of his enemy and taunting him indirectly with his stipendiary position; he does not proceed to counter-criticism of any writings by him. We thus have few favourable judgments on the De Rebus Gestis and no hostile judgments at all, and are left to conclude the probability that the contemporary reception was approving without being notably enthusiastic.

In this absence of documentary evidence, there is one test by which a very rough approximation may be made to estimating the contemporary reputation of Aemilius. We know that Gaguin enjoyed a sound though not overpowering popularity. Now, after the last edition in his own lifetime (1501) down to the last edition published (1586), that is to say the re-issues which could not be due to his initiative and must therefore reflect what publishers expected the public to want, the Compendium was reprinted twelve times. Between about 1523² and 1601, when the De

1 Epistole, vol. I, pp. 150-4.

2 . It is only possible to give the date of Aemilius' death, for the last edition in his lifetime, containing 9 Books, is undated.

Rebus Gestis was coming out posthumously in the same way, there were fifteen or perhaps thirteen editions. In addition, while there were five translations made of the Compendium into French, there were probably nine of the De Rebus Gestis, which was also twice translated into Italian and once into German. This suggests a general similarity in the reputation of the two men, with a very slight advantage on the side of Aemilius.

(ii) Subsequent Reputation. The De Rebus Gestis outlived the Compendium by 15 years and even just survived into the XVIIIth century. This is very much what might have been expected. The fashion to which Aemilius belonged more fully than Gaguin was in the ascendant throughout this period, and naturally ensured him a slightly longer lease of life. That this should have been so was possibly due as much to the general attitude of Aemilius as to his literary style. The De Rebus Gestis (relatively to the Compendium) was not only a polished piece of Humanist literature; its underlying tone was so rational, so well-balanced, so free from superstition, bigotry or "enthusiasm", that we can well understand its being still to the taste even of the early XVIIIth century. Within the conception of the XVIIIth and XIXth centuries of such terms, he was at least in some measure the product of civilisation, of the humanities.

Of course to what extent either Gaguin or Aemilius was in fact read in these later years must remain ~~am~~ doubtful. But we may be fairly sure that the demand declined steadily towards the end of the XVIth century and virtually disappeared in the XVIIth. The complete cessation of any re-issue of either is clear enough on this point, for early printers with their inadequate equipment and overwhelming pressure of work would certainly not have produced enough copies even in the comparatively numerous XVIth century editions to supply a continuing large public throughout the XVIIth. But copies of the De Rebus Gestis, as well as of the ^oCompendium, are sufficiently numerous and have travelled sufficiently far afield to suggest that for some time at least it was in quite wide and active circulation.

But the very characteristics which gave the De Rebus Gestis this slightly longer popularity were precisely what secured its more complete eclipse when the fashion eventually changed. While any remnants of the Humanist approach to historiography lingered, it might still be mentioned with respect even if little read; but when the XIXth century awakened to a new conception of history it was inevitably involved in the general discredit of its fellows. Thus Le Long in the early XVIIIth century,

while repeating some criticism, can still say that Aemilius at least deserves the credit of having been the first to have a little disentangled the early history of France;¹ and Rawlinson at about the same time admits that "this author, though superficial, writes a pure style."² But by 1860 Brunet brutally but accurately sums up the estimate of the XIXth century: "This inexact historian, who is no longer read."³

Nor has any change occurred since then to soften this contemptuous dismissal. The XIXth century view of history has been modified in its turn; but the scientific attitude which has superseded it takes for different reasons quite as poor a view of the Humanist theories and style. Moreover, besides the sound and serious grounds for criticism, the prevalent fashion for the Middle Ages and reaction against reason, individualism, progress, and everything connected (or supposed to be connected) with the Enlightenment, has to some extent involved Humanism also, the parent of the Enlightenment, in its distaste and condemnation. There is a tendency to contrast its

1 Bibliothèque historique de la France (Paris 1719), p. 380.

2 A New Method of Studying History, chap. XXXIV (2 vols. London 1728), vol. II, p. 201.

3 Manuel du Libraire, vol. I (Paris 1860), col. 64.

"artificial" histories with the "natural" mediaeval ones, which it is maintained, however lacking in philosophic or scientific method, at least give a true and undistorted picture of their age. Thus a Humanist historian like Aemilius is now more wholly ^{destitute of} ~~devoid of~~ interest and ~~pop~~ popularity than even a late-mediaevalist like Gaguin, who in modern times has been resuscitated and zealously championed by so distinguished a scholar as Louis Thuasne. Fashions alter, in history as in other things; but there is no sign at the moment of a change in the current which should throw up an advocate to do the same for Aemilius.

B. Influence. (i) General. Henri Hauser¹ speaks as if Aemilius were the original and most important agent in introducing the Humanist style of historical composition into France, and seems to attribute to him the presence in the XVth century historians of all the features, good or bad, which he regards as making up this style: the greater sophistication and polish and attention to relevance and literary composition, the combination and opposition of materials of different provenance, and the attempt to set up a causal relation between events; and on the other hand

1 Continuation of Molinier's Sources, vol. I, pp. 7-9. He says the publication of the first Books in 1516 "marks a date" (p. 7).

the slavish imitation of classical models, the introduction of imaginary rhetorical speeches and letters, the disguise of institutions, techniques and objects under a misleading classical terminology, and above all what he calls the "mania" of writing in Latin.

There is perhaps something of exaggeration in this. Evidence of the extreme rhetorical form of Humanism does not seem very strong in the works which Hauser himself lists for the period immediately following the appearance of the De Rebus Gestis. Nor ~~was~~ is it self-evident that Aemilius should be either credited with, or blamed for, these consequences to so exclusive an extent. It has already been suggested that his reputation was solid rather than showy. In particular, we get no impression that he was regarded at the time as producing anything strikingly new, whether calculated to attract or to shock.

This however is not to say that Hauser's point is not in general relevant and true, viz. that the imitation of Aemilius and through him of the great classical models, and subsequently of the other Italians of the same school like Jovius and Bembo, exerted an influence in introducing the new attitude, in the sense that any reasonably popular representative of a fashion furthers it indirectly by his very existence. This is borne out by a comparison between

his continuators and adaptors and those of Gaguin. & Gaguin's, as we have seen, actually receded from the point which he had reached; Aemilius' on the contrary represent a marked and probably conscious advance on their prototype.

(ii) The Continuations. (a) ~~Zavarizzi~~. This is, perhaps naturally enough, least marked in the earliest of the continuators. We do not know what Aemilius left in the way of notes (how much, of what kind, in what state), and it is therefore impossible to pass a complete judgment on Book 10 of the ^{De Rebus Gestis} ~~Compendium~~. Aemilius may have been ~~responsible~~ responsible for its worst blemish, the exaggeration of his vice of allotting excessive space to affairs not connected with France. This is most pronounced in the reign of Charles VII; for that of Louis XI Zavarizzi has made quite a skilful blend of the Chronique Scandaleuse and Commynes. There is in general a certain decline in conscientiousness and accuracy over details. There are a number of blunders as to names, titles, persons and dates which could have been avoided by a very small expenditure of further research or even comparison between one place and another in the De Rebus Gestis. Aemilius himself is not free from slips of this kind, but they greatly increase in number here. On the whole, however, considering the difficult and ungrateful character of the task of editing the work

of someone else, Zavarizzi has not performed it badly; and he has copied Aemilius' style so closely that the transition to a new hand is ~~xxx~~ scarcely perceptible.

(b) Also in this edition of 1539 there is an epitome of the history of France from Pharamond to Henri II by Jean du Tillet. It is specifically included to provide a more solid framework ~~xx~~ of fact for Aemilius' literary composition, and in form is almost as archaic as an Easter Table, even to the point of giving a date and line for the years in which no event is recorded. It is arranged in parallel columns, successively for the year A.D., regnal year, name of the king and chief events, and year of the world; and for the early period the entries are as scarce and jejune as in any monastic annals. The opening (A.D. 420-50) runs: "420. Pharamond first king, 9 years. 422. The Salic Law was instituted at this time. 430. Clodio Comatus second king, 18 years. Others call him Capillatus or Crinitus. It means the same thing. 440. Germain bishop of Auxerre. 449. Meroveus third king, 10 years."

But fairly soon there is more to say than that, and after the accession of the Capetians something approaching a consecutive narrative develops, especially for the contemporary period; but the rigidity of the annalistic

form remains inevitably cramping throughout. This is a pity, for du Tillet is one of the uncommon authors who give the impression of attempting less than they could have achieved, and whose execution is superior to their conception.

This must be taken in relation to the extreme badness of the conception; du Tillet is not an inspired or even a scholarly historian. But he is reasonable, unaffected, and upon the whole accurate; and when he allows himself any scope for exposition he shows a genuine historical sense and some critical acumen. He is scrupulous in adducing his sources, citing Aemilius, Gaguin, the Saint-Denis Chronicles, Sigibert, Biondo and Platina, Bouchet, P.C. Freigius, Polydore Vergil and Dante, and noting the points at which Aemilius, Gaguin and Jacob Meyer end their chronicles. But his use of them is critical, and he was clearly not unaware of their relative value as well as of the canon of inherent probability. He is not at all credulous, and has adopted much of Aemilius' astringent view of prodigies.

He was the king's secretary, and naturally is royalist, patriotic and Gallican, but not extravagantly so. He calls Clement VII the "antipope",¹ and is very non-committal on the origin of the Schism.² He is strictly

1 S.a. 1381.

2 S.a. 1379.

orthodox in regard to his own time, calling Luther "the heresiarch"¹, the secession of Henry VIII a "tragedy"², the Placards ~~xxx~~ a "most wicked conspiracy of the Sacramentarians"³. But the outspoken bitterness of his hostility to churchmen and church assumptions shows much independence; particularly striking are the references to Dagobert's gifts to the Church,⁴ the damnation of Charles Martel,⁵ the consultation of the guine of Nivelles,⁶ modern pluralism,⁷ the abuse of indulgences.⁸

There is some effort to widen the scope of the work by references to distinguished literary figures. The few incidental reflections are less trite than usual, and show a mind of some vigour and freshness. The form ~~of the work~~ affords no opportunity for literary graces, but du Tillet's Latin is adequate, and he even has the pedantry to ~~xxx~~ introduce a few superfluous scraps of Greek.

1 S.a. 1517.

2 S.a. 1532.

3 S.a. 1534.

4 S.a. 639.

5 S.a. 741.

6 S.a. 1275.

7 S.a. 1509.

8 S.a. 1517.

The work was continued in each subsequent edition down to their respective dates. It is a striking indication of the mediaeval approach to history still prevalent in France in the middle of the XVth century, of the conception of a book as a detached entity, growing in its own right irrespective of the author, that in the edition of 1551¹ a page and a half are left ruled and headed at the end for the additions of subsequent readers.

(c) The next continuation was a very different affair from this unassuming little abstract. The 1548/9 edition of the De Rebus Gestis contains as well as du Tillet four Books by Arnoul le Ferron, councillor in the Parlement of Bordeaux, extending from where the De Rebus Gestis concludes to the accession of François I. In the edition of 1550 five more Books were added, extending to the death of François, and this was reproduced in the subsequent x editions with considerable variants. Le Ferron, like Aemilius, was continually re-shaping his work.

The book thus finally gives an account of French history (and European history in so far as it was involved in it) from the Italian campaigns to the beginning of the reign of Henri II. It is a very competent piece of work,

1. Bound with the 1550 edition of le Ferron, separate from the De Rebus Gestis (Vascosan, Paris, 8°). ~~Two editions of the De Rebus Gestis, also Vascosan, 1550 and 1551.~~

not unworthy to stand as a continuation of the De Rebus Gestis. Le Ferron has taken trouble to collect his information, and as a practical man of affairs was not ill-equipped to interpret it. He evidently had some acquaintance with diplomatic moves, and makes an attempt (though not a very profound one) to explain the causes of events.

He cites a very large number of sources. Of course he may not have studied them all, in fact almost certainly had not. But there is less danger of misrepresentation here than in the case of older sources. As these writers were dealing with contemporary events, they do not themselves cite sources which le Ferron could cite in his turn as if he had seen them; and moreover, being modern, they had not the prestige of older authorities to tempt him to drape himself in it fraudulently. Especially in the later editions, he is very scrupulous in adducing conflicting pieces of evidence, though he does not always make the additional effort to assess their relative value or come to a decision as to which is more probable, and when using a major source is rather inclined to adopt its views en masse for the duration, without always warning us that he is quoting them or (at least explicitly) explaining on what grounds he has accepted it as ~~authoritative~~ authoritative. *When however he does pass judgment on probability,*

the ~~2xixhxxhixkxxhxxkxxkx~~ grounds upon which he does so are upon the whole reasonable.

He introduces no portents or prodigies, and expresses contempt of the "delirious fables" believed by the vulgar¹ and their credulity over the "inane prophecies" of augurs.² What is more remarkable for his age, he is relatively free from prejudice and partisanship. In his Preface, in enumerating the various reasons which induced others to write histories but which had rather deterred him, he includes zeal for the glorification of one's country; this, he says, "although excellent, we considered should always be separated from this type of writing". His genuine consistency as to this gives a little more weight than they would otherwise have to his professions that the truth is his only goal and the consciousness of having performed his duty the only reward which he expects, and the ~~inx~~ invective against the writers of the age, "both vulgar and learned", who "commonly so narrate and compose matters as to hide simplicity (the best friend to the truth both of words and deeds) under a veil", and write everything with a view to conciliating the powerful who may favour

1 De Rebus Gestis Gallorum, attached to the De Rebus Gestis, ed. of 1576/7 (Vascosan, Paris), F. CLII.R.

2 Ibid. Ff. CLIV.R, CLXXXII.V, CLXXXIII.R.

them, "so that in so far as in them lies they have rendered history (which wise men have called the light of truth, the memory of life, the herald of antiquity) and artificial lie and a corrupter of learning". Of course most of this is common form; but the Preface is in some respects slightly unusual, and has a note of sincerity seldom met with in such compositions. Le Ferron starts from basic patriotic and royalist assumptions. But he is not so much enthusiastic for the French as hostile to their enemies; and he shows an honest, independent and even critical attitude in his handling of the personal character of the French kings. He is an orthodox churchman, but is aware of the faults on both sides, and is not unfair or uncharitable in his account of ~~Roman~~ Protestantism; and he shows a generous disgust at the argument that no faith need be kept with a heretic public enemy.¹

The book is well composed, striking a balance between the demands of scholarly exposition and literary form. Le Ferron compromises quite skilfully between the mediaeval insertion of whole documents and the rhetorical total exclusion of them, by introducing sometimes fairly lengthy abstracts of treaties, letters, and so forth. At one

1 Ibid. F. CLXXXIII.R.

point he purports to prefer to include verbatim a letter from François I justifying himself to the Pope, "observing the truth of history", rather than "to forge other reasons and orations"¹. This admirable ^{statement} observation could hardly be more explicit, and we ought not perhaps to misdoubt it. But the letter seems singularly prolix and rhetorical for an official document, even in the XVith century.

Le Ferron adheres in the main to the chronological form which he has set himself, and he probably could not have done better in view of the limited resources of scientific historiography in his age and school. But he is not rigidly bound by it, and on several occasions concludes an episode in one piece even if it had a sequel, which carries him beyond his regular narrative. He slightly apologises for this, but justifies it on the sound grounds that he prefers not to confuse the reader by mixing domestic and foreign affairs together and proceeding "by fits and starts"².

His narrative and exposition are competent and clear though not distinguished. There are a number of the \pm

1 Ibid. Ff. CXXXIII.R-CXXXIV.V.

2 Ibid. F. LXXIV.V.

inevitable harangues, but the increasing use of indirect speech shows the beginning of transition to the XVIIIth century convention of putting two sides of a case by alleging what a supporter of each "might have said". Le Ferron's Latin lacks the assured grace of that of Aemilius. But on the whole it is accurate and under control; and occasionally, when le Ferron deliberately sets himself to ~~write~~ a piece of effective writing, he achieves a very successful pastiche of his classical models.

In one respect the De Rebus Gestis Gallorum is even superior to the De Rebus Gestis. Le Ferron was writing about his own time. This not only meant that he had the opportunity of being better informed; it was also far more favourable to the peculiarities of Humanist theory. A historical style which depends on detailed dramatic narrative sprinkled with direct speech will obviously be more at its ease in sketching a narrowly circumscribed contemporary scene than in attempting a broad canvas of the past.

Moreover, one of the greatest weaknesses of the rhetorical Humanists, the lack of any imaginative understanding of earlier ages, was here irrelevant. The use of Latin and imitation of classical models might

still lead to the characters being draped and posed in a spurious classical attitude. But at least beneath this disguise their feelings and motives could be interpreted by the author by reference to his own; he was not driven to attribute to Clovis or Philippe II the reactions of some one in similar circumstances in the XVth century. And for this very reason that it is more true and more convincing, it is also more alive and interesting. The artificiality of his form gives le Ferron a less direct appeal than authors like Froissart or Commynes; but he was writing of what he himself knew just as they were, and the consequent narrative has a moving actuality which could not possibly be achieved by a XVth century author treating of the remote past.

In addition, by the XVth century, although the old-fashioned would still accept the possibility of portents and prodigies in their own day, not even the most pious insisted on their inclusion in a history of it. Thus by confining himself to the contemporary scene le Ferron escaped the embarrassment of the Humanists who attempted to handle the earlier periods in which Christian history was inextricably entwined with the hagiography and and religious didacticism requiring supernatural intervention which was contrary to the essential

scepticism of the Humanists and yet which they could not see how to omit.

Finally, le Ferron did make things enormously more easy for himself simply by choosing so much shorter a period. The De Rebus Gestis Gallorum is almost exactly three-quarters of the ~~the~~ length of the De Rebus Gestis (180 pages as compared to 244 in the edition of 1576/7); and whereas the De Rebus Gestis covers about 1,000 years, the De Rebus Gestis Gallorum covers about 70. There is no need to stress how much greater scope is thus given for relevant detail, explanation of cause and effect, the building up of some impression of the characters involved, and all the other additions which give a history body and life instead of leaving it a skeleton scaffolding.

(d) Thereafter the De Rebus Gestis seems to have passed from the hands of regular Humanists to those of a group of Protestants centred on Basel. When Sixtus Henricpetri republished an edition there in 1569 he persuaded his relative Thomas Freigius to edit it and add a continuation down to their own time.¹ This is brief and simple, ostensibly conventional, cautious on political matters (though in the Dedication Freigius risks the

1 . Dedication to the Rector of the Academy of Basel, p. n.c. at beginning, sig. a5.V.

observation that military virtue consists in fighting against the armed enemy of the commonweal, "not against him who differs from us in diversity of opinions"¹), and old-fashioned enough to give at length the prodigies and prophecies heralding the death of Henri II.² But Freigius adds that it is an open question whether there is any science of future events or whether minds disposed to believe such things are merely filled by superstition, and glides off rapidly to point out what a warning it was in either case of the vicissitudes of Fortune and the dangers attending arrogance.³

The Preface incorporated in the Dedication is built up of the usual platitudes on the character, purposes and value of history common to both the Middle Ages and the Humanism; and the book ends with a scholastic-style analytical table to guide the writing and reading of history (involving chronology, geography and ~~historiography~~ historiography), chronological tables of the Four Monarchies and of the kings of France, accounts of the French magistrates and magistracies and of the provinces,

1 Ibid. p. n.c. sig. a4.R.

2 Ibid. pp. 21-2.

3 Ibid. p. 22.

peoples and rivers of France, and what is called "Etymologies of some Gallic words" but in fact attempts, not unsuccessfully, a derivation of some Frankish proper names.

(e) Freigius had remarked in his Dedication that Sixtus would have been quite capable of carrying out the work of continuation himself. When in 1601 Sebastian Henricpetri published the last edition of the De Rebus Gestis, dedicated to George Frederick marquis of Baden, it was continued by yet another Henricpetri, Jacob. But despite the curious name of the family, their place of residence and obvious Protestant affiliations and sympathies, Jacob Henricpetri writes throughout as a Frenchman. The character of the De Rebus Gestis as an official French history has indeed disappeared here completely. But it had always been less marked than might have been expected; and Henricpetri's measure of detachment is not greatly more than that shown by Aemilius himself and by le Ferron, although in a slightly different way.

Henricpetri's continuation begins with the accession of Henri II, thus superseding Freigius and even the last pages of le Ferron, and concludes with the marriage of Henri IV to Marie de' Medici and a prayer that this may

restore peace to afflicted France. It is based on Freigius for the earlier part, sometimes even verbally,¹ as in the account of the omens of the death of Henri II, where even the comment is repeated, and the curious explanation of the name of the Huguenots;² but the treatment is throughout fuller and more interesting.

It is a serious and conscientious piece of work, strictly factual and hence at times superficial, with little attempt to trace more remote causes and effects, but detailed and apparently careful and accurate, with inclusion of much documentary matter. The standpoint is Protestant, and the later date enables Henricpetri to be bolder than Freigius in expression of his views. This no doubt has dictated emphasis and interpretation and even arrangement of the material; but the tone is reasonable and dispassionate, and there seem to be no positive lies or misrepresentation. Henricpetri says unequivocally that once hostilities had begun NEITHER SIDE carried on anything temperately, and that the Reformers as well as the Catholics committed excesses when they were the more powerful, "and in the height of military licence exceeded

1 Continuation to the De Rebus Gestis (Basel 1601), pp. 271-2.

2 Ibid. p. 280.

the bounds of a just defence¹. He will not maintain that their motives were always disinterested, nor always endorse their charges against their enemies.² There seems no question as to the sincerity of his moving outcry against this fratricidal strife: "In these furious wars there is no winning. Our wretched fatherland is deprived of its children, and the victory is subject of mourning to the victor."³ The whole book is an excellent example of frankly partisan writing which by calmness and honesty avoids the taint of prejudice and remains valid evidence within its own terms of reference.

It will have been observed that, whether by chance or because a book of real merit attracted superior associates, Aemilius was exceptionally fortunate in his collaborators. Apart from Zaverizzi, who was restricted by the notes upon which he was bound to work, each member of the series in a different way represented what was best in his own particular style. Du Tillet was the old-fashioned annalist, but both less bald and more critical than the annalist of an earlier age. Le Ferron was the fully developed Humanist, writing within the limits of the

1 Ibid. p. 279.

2 Ibid. p. 331 (supposed poisoning of Jeanne d'Albret).

3 Ibid. p. 346.

strictest dogmas of the school, but following them soberly and intelligently and above all with sensitive awareness of the sphere to which they could appropriately be applied. Freigius gives a straightforward contemporary record, undistinguished but workmanlike. Finally, Henricpetri contrived to adapt the formal structure of the De Rebus Gestis successfully to the different historiographical conceptions of the later part of the XVth century, when religious issues had temporarily overlaid the nationalist feeling of the Humanist historians, and the propagandist character which had invaded history from this political viewpoint was diverted to other controversies.

Indeed, it would almost seem as if some subtle instinct guided the continuators of both the Compendium and the De Rebus Gestis to perceive and reproduce the essential character of the two books of which the authors themselves were scarcely conscious. Desrey and the chroniclers exaggerated the mediaevalism which Gaguin would have repudiated with indignation. Similarly, those who cooperated in the De Rebus Gestis seem to have been somehow aware that underneath its rhetorical formalism, its artificial aping of classical styles, the book was alive and therefore susceptible of growth and development without losing or contradicting its own individuality,

NOTE 1.

The Burial of William the Conqueror.

(i) Guillaume de Jumièges, who as a Norman has nothing but panegyric for William, mentions nothing untoward. William is buried by his orders in the church of St. Stephen in Caen, which he himself had had built; Henry ~~was~~ the only son who followed [§] his funeral, and the only one to deserve ^e his father's inheritance, of which his brothers only possessed portions.¹

(ii) Ordericus Vitalis, an Englishman by birth though a monk in Normandy, is rather hostile to the invaders, and besides giving with evident relish some gruesome details on the disposal of William's body, speaks of his funeral being disturbed first by a fire and then by the interference of Ascelin son of Arthur, who forbids the burial ~~x~~ on the grounds that the land was the site of his father's house, and William while still only duke of Normandy had seized it and denying him all justice had founded the church by abuse of his power. The bishops and nobles speak kindly to him and pay him 60 shillings on account, promising to make up the rest of the value of the land later, which

1 Historia Northmannorum, Bk. 7, chap. XLIV (FLC, vol. CXLIX, Paris 1882), col. 880.

they soon do, for the salvation of "their own chief lord, whom they loved." There is no mention of Henry's presence or agency at any stage, in fact it is distinctly stated that all William's relations ¹ abandoned him.

(iii) William of Malmesbury, of mixed English and Norman descent but also on the whole English in sympathy, gives a similar but slightly less highly coloured account. There is no mention of the fire. "A certain knight" claims that the ground was his by ancestral right, and that William was not entitled to repose in the place which he had violently invaded. "Wherefore by the will of Henry, who alone of the children was present, 100 silver pounds paid to the litigant silenced his audacious challenge."²

(iv) The version of Aemilius is as follows: "Illud exemplum nobile est, quod corpori defuncti tam inuictâ bello Regis, sepultura paulisper interdictum fuit. Templum ^π extuxerat aliena in area, nec persolueret ^Λ precium domino, qui tunc egens, pompam funebrem, coetumque procerum nihil veritus, in mediam prosequentium Regium funus celebritatem,

1 Historia Ecclesiastica, Bk. 7, chap. XIII (PLC; vol. CLXXXVIII, Paris 1855), col. 554.

2 De Gestis Regum Anglorum, Bk. 3, chap. CCLXXXIII, ed. Stubbs (RS, 2 vols. London 1887), vol. II, p. 337.

mirantibus cunctis, satisne sanus esset, se intulit ita clamitans, 'Qui Regna oppressit armis, me quoque metu mortis hactenus oppressit. Ego iniuriae superstes, pacem mortuo non dabo. In quem effertis istum hominem locum, meus est. In alienum solum inferendi mortui ius nemini esse, defendo: sin extincto tandem indignitatis authore viuit adhuc vis, Rhollonem conditorem, parentemque gentis appello, qui legibus ab se datis quam cuiusquam iniuria plus unus potest, polletque'. Simul incendium, incertum forte, an fraude humana, ortum, late domos propinquas aedesque sacras depascit. Vndique ad extinguendam saevientem flammam concursus fit. Circa Regium cadaver solitudo facta. Velut manifesta numinis ira territus Henricus Regis mortui filius, qui solus procerum diuelli a feretro non potuit, rem praesenti pecunia fundi domino luit. Ita manes patris fraude noxaeque liberati... Pietas Henrici, qui minimus natus, filiorum solus funeri patris officium praestitit, superis cordi fuit. Infoelici enim fratrum fato superstes erit, ac annos quinque et triginta Regnabit, prolesque eius filiae per multa deinceps secula in eo solio sedebit."

It would seem that Aemilius must have seen both Ordericus, to obtain the reference to the fire (although he times it differently), and William of Malmesbury for

the part played by Henry. The opening moralising occurs in both, at considerably greater length; but it was obvious enough for any mediaeval or Renaissance author. The concluding reference to the divine recompense of Henry's dutiful conduct seems like Guillaume de Jumièges, though again Aemilius was quite capable of drawing the deduction himself, and could give it a wider extension than any of these more or less contemporary authors.

The combination suggests, though it by no means proves, that Aemilius used either all three books or some fourth source upon which all drew selectively. Stubbs says that Ordericus and William of Malmesbury appear^x not to have known one another's works,¹ though he gives no reason for the statement. This if true certainly postulates some such source, oral if not written, in view of the extreme closeness of the versions; and Aemilius, who never cites Ordericus or Guillaume de Jumièges, could quite well have meant something else by his reference to "the Norman chronicles".² He has given the story some rhetorical embroidery of his own.

1 Ibid. vol.II, p. cxxxii.

2 v. f. 187.

NOTE 2.

The Murder of Charles the Good of Flanders.

There exist two contemporary accounts of this, by Gualterus of Théroutanne and Galbertus of Bruges,¹ which are detailed, factual and rational. But the episode struck the popular imagination, and was soon subjected to hagiographic and sensational embellishments. Aemilius might have derived his version from John of Ypres, but that he used the Chronicon Comitum Flandrensium is indicated by his linking the anecdote of the visit of the abbot of St. Bertin to the count directly with the murder, as the Chronicon does; they are mentioned separately by John of Ypres. As this version exists in virtually identical form in the Chronicon, which we know Aemilius to have used, there is no need of the assumption made in the Commentary on Gualterus and Galbertus that it was he who further embroidered the already heightened narrative of John of Ypres in this way.² That he also looked at the vernacular Ancienne~~n~~ Chronique de Flandre is suggested by his

1 H.C., vol. CLXVI (Paris 1854), cols. 873-1050.

2 Ibid. col. 882.

3 Ed. J.J. de Smet in Chroniques de Flandre (Collection de Chroniques Belges inédites, Brussels 1837), vol. III.

repeating the verbal equivocation in the question: "Who will avenge him?", which occurs in the Chronicon and not in John of Ypres. It is derived from Gualterus¹; but we have no other evidence that Aemilius knew or used Gualterus or Galbertus. He repeats the blunder of all the later versions in attributing the crime to the family of Straten instead of that of Erembald, from which acquaintance with the original sources would have preserved him.

1 Pt. 5, chap. XX; col. 918.

IV

CONCLUSION

1. The Humanist Programme.

There is a general resemblance between the Compendium and the De Rebus Gestis. In part this was produced simply by the circumstances and character of the two books. But Gaguin and Aemilius did also to some extent have the same objects in view. Both aimed at giving the mass of national records a shape in which they ~~which~~ they would be acceptable to the new world of ^{scholarship} and literature. For this it was not sufficient to abridge them; the Great Chronicles themselves, bulky as they were, were abridgments of the yet greater detail of their sources dealing with individual reigns. It was also necessary to ~~give~~ give them some literary form and polish, to turn an inchoate assembly of facts and observations into an ordered consistent narrative whose components were linked by ^{an} ~~more~~ organic unity. Above all, it was necessary to make it to some extent reasonable, that is, to exclude whatever would offend a cultured Humanist reader as too grossly fabulous, inept, or puerile.

This indeed was the fundamental Humanist historiographic programme. It could be given a wider or narrower scope in conception or execution; but in its essential attitude to

the subject it did represent a real change in approach. Not of course that the ~~the~~ mediaeval historians had consciously abjured arrangement and reason, or been in practice able to do without them. Every narrative of facts beyond the baldest diary form, written up day by day, must follow some canon of arrangement. Even the annalist, setting down his record at the end of the year, is compelled, whether he had thought about it or not, to exercise his judgment over what events to include; and he is almost certain to finish one episode (provided it fell within the year) before going on to another, even if it had begun before the end of the first.

Similarly, although the people of the Middle Ages lived mentally in a world in which the ordinary laws of nature were susceptible of alteration or suspension at any moment in a curious and arbitrary way, yet in their regular day to day life they must have acted on principles of general probability which as the result of experience are much the same from age to age; and this to some extent reflects itself in their treatment of history. Though they had no reasoned objection to the fantastic as such, in narrating ordinary events they instinctively select^{ed} the version which strikes ^{was} them as most likely.

But that this happened in practice, to a greater or

lesser degree according to the enlightenment of the age and the good sense and literary capacities of the individual historian, is not the same thing as setting up arrangement and reason as theoretical ideals in the way the Humanists did. What was necessity or accident for the mediaeval historian was deliberate policy for the Humanist.

There were other features of Humanist historiography, such as the use of Latin and a generally rhetorical style, the set "orations", the imitation (in the worst cases slavish) of classical models. But in the first place, although all this undoubtedly appeared to a far greater extent with the Renaissance, none of it had been entirely absent throughout the Middle Ages.

Latin was the accepted medium for historical composition, as well as for the other branches of literature and learning, in the Middle Ages as well as in the Renaissance. Vernacular histories, chiefly of the biographical or popular kind, did exist side by side with the Latin annals of monasteries and courts, but not to anything like the same extent.

The brief annalistic histories on the whole remained fairly simple in style. But as soon as the chronicler becomes in any way more ambitious the preoccupation with fine writing naturally supervenes, and authors excellent

in their own way introduce long passages in rhetorical style as soon as they turn to general reflections, and sometimes even for parts of their narrative. Again, writers like the Burgundian Rhétoriqueurs were quite capable of turning the vernacular into a medium as obscure and affected as the strained Ciceronianism of the later Humanists. If the object was to be natural and sincere, it might be best to write the French of Monstrelet or Cousinot, however cumbrous and flat it might be; but it was almost better to use a plain workmanlike late-mediaeval Latin like that of the Religieux de Saint-Denis than to distort the vernacular into the artificial bombast of Chastellain, ~~or Cousinot~~. A writer with an urge to rhetoric will generally contrive to give it expression, whatever the age he lives in or the medium he employs.

History, once it rose above the level of mere annals,¹ was after all still regarded as ^a branch of rhetoric in the ~~Middle Ages~~.

1 This distinction is quite often drawn by the mediaeval authors themselves. V. for example Froissart: Chronique, Bk. 3, chap. IX, ed. J.A. Buchon (Collection des chroniques nationales françaises, vol. XX, Paris 1825), p. 417 (the SHF edition does not reach this point).

¹
Middle Ages. It is true that the pedantry of the mediaeval historians is usually ~~more~~ scholastic rather than classical, but quite often they too are aping a classical style; and then the only difference is that the Humanists, trying to do the same thing, do it better.

Similarly, even the better mediaeval historians insert prolonged harangues. They may be a trifle less unreal than those of the Humanists; they are sometimes narrative of facts instead of empty generalisations, and less completely impossible in the mouths of those to whom they are attributed. But their writers do not seem to have had a much clearer or more conscious idea than the Humanists that their inclusion was an evil in itself.

The imitation of classical models was the characteristic approaching nearest to an originality on the part of the Humanists. But even of this we find ~~ix~~ traces in the Middle Ages, especially in the periods when there appeared some premature hint of the Renaissance. Einhard, setting down to write the life of Charlemagne, and conscious of his inexperience in arranging his material, turned to the example of biographical form afforded by Suetonius, slightly modified its framework to fit the

1 V. R.L. Poole on Henry of Huntingdon: Chronicles and Annals (Oxford 1926), pp. 52-4.

different circumstances of a Christian Emperor, and then filled it with the facts and spirit of his own age. Richer is full of Latin terms and phrases, imaginary speeches and descriptions of the illnesses of famous people copied from late classical authors.¹ Rahewin in his continuation of Otto of Freising's Gesta Friderici Imperatoris, though satisfied with an annalistic form, supplied the deficiencies of his own language by passages not only from Josephus but from Sallust and Lucan; his portrait of Frederick is composite from Einhard and a letter of Sidonius Apollinaris on Theodoric, with touches from Josephus and Sallust. Thomas Basin (a sound scholar in the late-mediaeval sense, but no Humanist) modelled himself both in form and style on Livy and Sallust.

On both these points (rhetoric and imitation of the classics) one may see what could happen to even so bare an annalistic compilation as the St. Albans Chronicle when it fell into the hands of an author of some literary pretensions like Thomas Walsingham, whose account of the battle of Agincourt, florid to the point of unintelligibility, is a cento of tags from classical historians and poets. Even William of Malmesbury, one of the best early mediaeval historians, and one little

1 Molinier: Sources, vol. V, p. lxviii.

preoccupied with style, bristles with at least the more obvious Latin tags.

This ~~x~~ is not to say that there was nothing new here. The echoes of the classics in the mediaeval historians were verbal and mechanical, the perfunctory observance of a literary convention. The Humanists aimed at transferring the essential spirit, or at the least the form, of their models into the compositions of their own age. But although this constituted a genuine change, a strong if superficial and formalised tradition of classical literature persisted throughout the Middle Ages to a much greater extent than used to be realised.

Secondly, these characteristics were not only not exclusive to Humanism; they were also not essential to it in the same way as the conception of history as something which must be within limits rational, ordered, and cast in a literary form. Those whom Fueter calls the "pragmatist" historians¹ (Machiavelli, Guicciardini, Commynes) were marked by them not at all or to a very limited extent. Nor do they belong much to scholars like Biondo, interested in investigating the past as the past, without preoccupation with either moral lessons or literary form, or to the inquiring minds, alertly sensitive to the world around

1 Geschichte der neueren Historiographie, trans. E. Jeanmaire as Histoire de l'historiographie moderne (Paris 1914), p. 66.

them, like Pius II. The Humanists were in no sense logically constrained by their basic theory to write in stilted imitation of the ancients instead of in a natural style fitted to their own age and allowing for the original expression of their own ideas and personality; although in their confusion between following their models as a means and as an end, this was all too often what happened in practice.

There was another characteristic of this kind, not quite universal among the Humanists but generally connected with them. This was their belief that history was useful. It raised men's souls by contemplation of noble deeds, and in the practical activities of statecraft, citizenship and ordinary conduct it set before them examples of what to pursue and what to avoid.

Yet this is less marked in the rhetorical school, generally regarded as the most typical Humanists, than in the "pragmatists". Machiavelli wrote the Discourses on the Decades of Livy to give citizens and governors the benefit of the experience of antiquity; and Commynes, after describing a particularly cynical piece of statecraft, adds the hope that he may thus help some young prince in the future to avoid being deceived.¹ The

1 Mémoires, Bk. 3, chap. IX, ed. J. Calmette (Les Classiques de l'Histoire de France au moyen âge, 3 vols. Paris 1924-5), vol. I, p. 230.

real rhetoricians considered that these passages, if at too great length, broke up the artistic flow of their narrative, and in the main they limited them to incidental observations.

This again was something which the Humanists altered in spirit rather than created out of nothingness. The mediaeval historian also was nothing if not didactic. He also regarded history as a warning; indeed this was in his eyes almost its only justification, and he never ceases to draw attention to this aspect. But his conviction of the immediacy of God's guiding hand in the affairs of man made it difficult for him in logic to enforce any lesson except the advisability of rendering one's self pleasing in His eyes in so far as might be possible in order to merit His protection. But the Humanists, without openly denying His direct intervention, allowed it tacitly to fall into the background as a cause in ordinary affairs, which they treated as following logically from men's free actions. They were thus able to concentrate on practical precepts, pointing out that such and such a course of action would produce such and such results, which they suggested might be desirable or very much the reverse.

Such seem then the main components of the Humanist historical programme: The fundamental purpose to arrange

history and make it reasonable; the style imitated from the classics usually employed for this object; and (as the result to which the final production was directed) the helping of men to lead a good and successful life, practically and morally, by taking advantage of the accumulated experience of past generations. Communes emphasises this as one of the most important means of making a man wise, since a single life is too short to acquire this variety of experience for one's self.¹

It has been stressed that the second two components are less essential than the first, in the sense that they occur less universally and that Humanist historiography would have a recognisable individual identity without them. But the normal state of affairs was for all to be present in those whom we would define as strictly Humanist historians.

2. Its Exemplification in Gaguin and Aemilius.

A. ^{Thompson}Gaguin. Gaguin's conscious object was certainly that of the Humanists. But there is the purpose which a man sets before himself when he begins, and the purpose which in practice he pursues when he settles to his work. This does not refer to mere defects of execution, such as

1 Ibid. Bk. 2, chap. VI; vol. I, p. 129.

are inevitable in some form in every work. It is a much more fundamental thing when an author having said to his readers and himself that he proposes to write in accordance with a certain theory, finds himself impelled by his instincts and antecedents to write in accordance with one quite different.

Gaguin was not compelled to adopt the style he did by a fashion so universal that no other was thinkable. At the end of the XVth century and even well into the XVIth the old-fashioned treatment of a general history was still common and respectable. There were in addition the many minor forms of contemporary memoirs and records. In this sense his choice was tolerably free, and where he placed it is therefore more significant than if it had been a matter of course.

But though his choice was deliberate, it had been made in the first instance on general rather than particular grounds. Gaguin's pleasure in learning and literature as a young man had led him into the circle of Paris scholars and men of letters who had come under the influence of the classical tradition. It was their good opinion, and that of those like them in other countries, that he aimed at in all his more ambitious projects; and this he certainly would not obtain by writing a history

in other than Humanist form. Having placed himself as a matter of genuine preference in a certain camp, the conformity of loyalty or plain unthinking habit would be likely to lead him to do as his associates did.

This is not to suggest that he assumed a distasteful form against his will. There is no reason to doubt that he yielded an intellectual assent to Humanist canons for the composition of history as in other matters, without perhaps distinguishing very clearly in his own mind between the parts of their doctrine with which he was in natural sympathy and those which were alien to him. But despite the genuine pleasure which he clearly derived from Humanist society, and the esteem in which he was held there, his identification with the true spirit of Humanism was very limited.

This was natural enough, for it was never an easy part for the Ultramontanes to assume, when the whole social and intellectual world which had formed them ~~in~~ and in which they lived was based on a tradition so radically different. Those who achieved it most successfully tended to be the lay scholars such as Erasmus, with something of a cosmopolitan character, who had been in Italy or had connections with it. For them the ancient world and the New Learning had some real meaning, a distinct existence of their own

and a force to influence and shape the existence of others.

But Gaguin was not one of these, ~~is~~ either by background or probably even by disposition. His interest in literature should not be allowed to obscure the typically mediaeval character of the circumstances of his career. The Order of the Holy Trinity had been founded for the redemption of Christian captives from the infidel. Gaguin when a student in Paris saw some of these brought back from Granada,¹ and later was himself sent to Spain for this purpose.² So late as 1491, when he himself was General Minister, he was organising the ~~xxxx~~ ransom of prisoners from Morocco and arranging for their solemn reception in Paris.³ The intelligence and energy which raised him from a modest origin to a distinguished position ~~x~~ in the Church; the combination of ecclesiastical administration with diplomatic functions; the affiliation to the University and partisan loyalty in its quarrels; the sincere piety not exclusive of something of profane culture and worldly ambition: there is nothing distinctively Humanist about that picture. It could be applied with very little alteration to many scholarly and political churchmen for a century or more back.

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1 Epistole, vol. I, p. 16.

2 Ibid. p. 17.

3 Ibid. p. 98.

This character is so pronounced that it even ¹int~~u~~des itself into his letters and speeches, though they were designed as Humanist compositions for his Humanist friends, and in the main preserve the Humanist tone very steadily. The language is studded with classical allusions; the classical historians, poets and philosophers are continually referred to and quoted; and when Gaguin comes on some well-worn theme of Humanist ~~rhax~~ rhetoric his pen glides forward smoothly along the familiar track.⁴ Even the Oration asking the Doctors of the Faculty of Theology to contribute to the restoration of the church of St. Mathurin not only contains classical allusions³ but is full of the notions of magnificence, fame and artistic glories, and ends with the insinuation that it would derogate from the dignity of the Theologians to let themselves be surpassed by the French and Norman nations, which had both promptly made generous contributions.

- 1 Ep. LXXIV; vol. II, pp. 9-13 (^{si}praise of eloquence).
Ep. LXXXIX; vol. II, pp. 66-74 (stimulus to virtue from prospect of fame). ~~Exx~~ Orat. XCVI; vol. II, pp. 124-8 (importance and dignity of literature).
- 2 Orat. XCII; vol. II, pp. 90-7.
- 3 Ibid. p. 94 (the University described as "communem Minerve officinam").

This is all in character and what one would expect. But the other vein was liable to break out at any moment. At the end of the long letter to Erasmus' friend Hermann,¹ an admirable composition marked by good sense, good feeling and liberal enlightenment,² Gaguin answers his correspondent's question which of the pagan philosophers was the ~~best~~ best guide to life, by the unqualified pronouncement that it was impossible to choose between this mutually-conflicting "multitude of vanities". All were dangerous to the Christian not yet armed in proof by wisdom and virtue, and all the more so from the specious attraction with which their literary talents decked their false teaching. Study of them should therefore be avoided, just as the Church discourages the reading of Origen, despite his merits, because of the errors contained in a single work of his. But it does not forbid the use of such classical flowers of speech as are "not~~at~~ inconsistent with piety" for the adornment of truth, as many of the philosophers (especially the Stoics) valued the moral virtues and set good examples of them; but even with them we must be on ~~the~~ our guard against their exaltation of fame. It is unnecessary to point out the contrast between all this and the ideas maintained in the letters already referred to.

1 Ep. LXXVII; vol. II, pp. 22-39.

2 V. particularly the fine passage on astrology.

Again. the letters dealing not with literary or philosophic topics but with the business of his Order, though carefully written in rhetorical style, are in substance and tone very much what a mediaeval prelate might have sent to his colleagues and subordinates. And the Oration to the Florentines¹ uses arguments to persuade them that they should not refuse to help René of Anjou in Naples through fear of the Papacy which sound strange in the mouth of the author of the Compendium, with its numerous outspoken criticisms of the Papacy from a Gallican point of view.

No one will criticise Gaguin for holding these opinions. His attitude to pagan philosophy in the letter to Hermann is a great deal more consistent and prudent than that of the Humanist churchmen who attempted precariously to reconcile it with Christianity. And so far as the administration of his Order goes, we can only respect him for doing what he had chosen to do conscientiously and thoroughly. But these expressions of his views do suggest the fundamental character of a ²serious-minded late-mediaeval churchman, for whom his Humanist excursions were something external, occasional, and limited in scope, a diversion and a grace added to life, rather than an integral part of his personality and outlook.

1 Orat..XCIX; vol. II, pp. 145-55.

This impression is confirmed by consideration of his works other than the Compendium.¹ Apart from his occasional verse, largely addressed to his Humanist friends, and a few translations of classical historians, they are overwhelmingly late-mediaeval in tone. The theological speculations and polemics, the belligerent championship of his Order in its quarrels, the hagiography, the preoccupation with satirical, moral and educational treatises, are all exactly what we would expect from Robert Gaguin, General Minister of the Order of the Holy Trinity and Dean of the Faculty of Canon Law in the University of Paris; but they do not immediately suggest Gaguin the Humanist.

This is not to say that all his subjects were such that no Humanist would have treated of them. Thuausne says there is no doubt of the debt of his Passe-temps~~et~~ d'Oysivete to the Disputatio de Pace et Bello of Platina and Roderigo Sancio bishop of Calahorra.² The Humanists were to a great extent dependent on the stock of ideas of the Middle Ages, which for their part owed more than perhaps they realised to classical thought and imagination. Many of the commonplaces which appear in the works of the Humanists had been the property of the Schoolmen, and before them of the Sophists.

1 On these, v. Epistole, Appendices; vol. II, p. 170 ss.

2 Ibid. vol. II, p. 322.

But they were treated in a different spirit by each of these successive ages; and in Gaguin's mind they seem to have existed not as they were first conceived by antiquity nor as revived in the faded formalism of the Humanists, but in the intermediate stage in which the Middle Ages had adopted them as part of their literary stock in trade.

Moreover, this is direct evidence. From the circumstances of his life and even from his letters (though they were so much literary compositions directed to an audience that they in fact testify more to his literary views than to his personal feelings), we can only conjecture a rational probability as to his ideas. But his choice and treatment of subjects in his major literary compositions are the closest indication we can get of his preoccupations and attitude. And when the two testimonies fit together so consistently, there is a strong presumption that the combined impression is correct.

But even if it is, this does not do away with the fact that in the Compendium, his most important work, Gaguin set before himself and his readers the deliberate intention of following the Humanist programme. ~~This is abundantly proved~~
~~not~~

The opening words of the dedication of the first edition to his friend Pierre Burry sum up the Humanist programme. Gaguin proposes to resume French history in a compendium, in such a way that "most of the irrelevant

side-tracks having been blocked up", the reader may be led by the right path to the "ultimate goal of history". Those who had hitherto attempted to narrate it had done so at excessive length if writing in French, or if in Latin (of whom there were very few) had rendered the deeds of some of the French kings inaccurately, "without any majesty of style". Gaguin does not set out to remedy this; such an enterprise would require a most eloquent and fluent writer, who would pursue ~~x~~ the subject from the outset with the greatest care, and be assisted by a subsidy from the prince, who has the greatest interest in having the deeds of his ancestors set on record for his own information and that of posterity. But few people are aware that no actions are so fair and gallant that their lustre is not dimmed by a base narrative.

In this rough and thorny path Gaguin will cull only what he considers appropriate to his ^{pro}~~subject~~ subject, "for the profit ~~good~~ of the commonweal", and arrange it in very brief stages, where the reader may pause for as long as he ~~pl~~ pleases. He then emphasises again that ~~t~~ he is not hunting after (aucupari) any reward from the prince, but merely hopes for the approval and protection which Burry, the companion of his early studies, always grants so

generously to his friends in the literary world; and he ends by explaining that despite the criticism which he anticipates he proposes to compromise in the matter of proper names, using a form as close as possible to the vernacular and then declining them as if Latin words.

This is all very close to the Preface of Aemilius, which will be dealt with later. Both are brief and carefully written, though Gaguin's is much inferior stylistically; and the basic ideas on which they depend are obviously the same. The main distinction is that Gaguin's is more practical in tone; he is expounding the purpose and character of this particular book rather than his views on the purpose and character of history in general; and the references to the usefulness and importance of the subject, which Aemilius rather dwells on, are here reduced to a minimum.

Other expressions of Gaguin's views are scattered throughout the letters, but they neither modify nor add much to this main exposition. In the Preface to D Gaguin is concentrating on rebutting the charges of the "foreign slanderer", and does not deal with historical theory. The letters to Pierre Doriol¹ and Ambroise de Cambrai¹ were written with so specific a purpose in view that their testimony is of

1 V. pp. 71-4.

a different kind and of less weight. Also by the nature of this purpose they were directed more to demonstrating the benefits which the French crown would derive from history than the merits of history itself. The only points of real interest to be added from them are the Humanist defence of glory as a spur to virtue and the ~~g~~ conception of History as a drama played between the "two faces of Fortune".

Gaguin's expressed theory was thus perfectly orthodox. And a conscious exercise of choice and will in this way is a concrete and significant fact, independent of the modification or even destruction of it in practice by some overriding force of instinct or habit. It may even sometimes tell us more about his mind, expressing as it does the attitude individual to himself rather than that which was the mere product of his environment. So far as this formal choice goes, Gaguin must be classed as a Humanist, even while we place him among the late-mediaeval historians in relation to the actual work as it has come to our hands.

Of the minor characteristics of Humanist historiography he had very little. He wrote in Latin, and seems to have done so from the Humanist rather than the late-mediaeval point of view. This was the aspect of the originality of his work which he himself and his Humanist friends emphasise most often. In the Preface to D one of the charges which he is

most eager to meet is the inadequacy of his Latin. He acknowledges with a scornful humility that he does not possess eloquence in it "to the extent that a certain chatterbox attributes it to the Italian authors", but claims that he has written of the affairs of his own country in a passable style, "with barbarisms gradually cleared away." The same notion, variously worded, appears throughout the prefatory matter. It was the assumption by the Humanists that history not in Latin hardly ~~was~~ counted as existing at all which enabled them to claim that Gaguin was the first real historian of France.

Gaguin could write accomplished Humanist Latin, and did so continually in the letters and speeches. But the Compendium itself is not at all rhetorical. Its style is level and correct but sober and simple. There are no orations, and the not very numerous incidental remarks which he has preserved from his sources are all extremely brief.

Despite his occasional references to the usefulness of history, he is not much concerned with providing examples or advice. The chief respect in which he seems to expect that history would profit mankind was by the indirect means of stimulating them to ~~allixixxox~~ all virtuous action by hope that their names would be honourably remembered in future ages. When he descends to detail, the tone (as ~~it~~ became his station) is much more that of Mediaeval ~~edixix~~ edification.

than of Humanist practical counsel.

Thus under each of the headings defining Humanist historiography distinctions and qualifications have to be made. Gaguin's own undoubted conception of his ~~later~~ history in Humanist terms is in a sense the sole ultimate criterion; ~~but~~ but if an affirmative answer is to be ~~is~~ given on the strength of it, it would have to be modified by the proviso that this conception accorded little with the rest of his thought and had little influence ~~in~~ shaping his completed work.

B. ^{Review of} Aemilius. The case of Aemilius is ~~as~~ much more clear. For his own views on the ^{subject} ~~subject~~ we may refer to the Prologue to the De Rebus ~~Ant~~ Gestis. Prefatory ~~matter~~ was a formal affair. It said less what the writer thought than what he supposed was expected of him, or still more often it was cast in a conventional mode which passed from book to book varying in little more than words. But these stock compositions were ~~recognized~~ recognised as being each attached to a peculiar style, and the use of one would upon the whole establish an author as ^{belonging} ~~belonging~~ to the school implied by it. Nor were they ^{often} without some indication of individual attitudes and tastes.

The first noticeable thing about ~~the~~ the Prologue is its briefness. It occupies less ~~than~~ than a Folio. Aemilius

did not propose to disfigure the proportions of his work or fatigue his readers by a prolix exordium. All that was requisite was for the subject to be introduced by a few brisk graceful words and then left to the reader's attention. Secondly, it is written in careful Humanist Latin, at once fluent and dignified, over which Aemilius must have taken much pains.

"The lot of the human race would be good and glorious" it opens, if kings and great men in general regarded themselves in all they did as acting a part "in the theatre of all mankind and before the eyes of posterity", and if their high deeds were noted down and diligently perused; for then we would see resumption of "that fairest contest, intermitted for many centuries", as to whether the world owes more to those who do great deeds or to those who transmit their deeds to all time.

Having once tasted such sweetness, we would all be inflamed by desire to learn about the whole of antiquity. Fortune and passion would hold less sway over us. Wars would be undertaken more rarely and with greater consideration, carried on with less bloodshed and devastation and more valour, and concluded more easily and with more pleasant peace. For the conquerors, assuming the character which they wish to bear in the piercing light

and before the incorruptible judges of posterity, will realise that more examples of good faith and clemency than of crimes and brutality are set before those who aspire to true greatness and fame. The world will no longer be for the greater part "shut off from and impervious to" men's knowledge by the continual alarm of new wars; and thus it will be no longer so shamefully unknown to its inhabitants. Life would be more safe, and led with less cupidity. The Divinity would be more sacred in men's eyes when they knew the origins of true religion and by what means it was that "the general happiness and the integrity of the soul" had been instituted and preserved.

So far Aemilius has sketched the wide optimistic prospect of what knowledge of history could do for man in his higher capacities as a moral and social being. But men, he adds, "are less swayed by duty and conscience than each by his own advantage or disadvantage"; so the practical benefits to be derived by the individual must be stressed also. "Ignorance of antiquity compels even those who have grown old in the other liberal arts to appear always children and ignorant of sense and the life of the community, strangers themselves in their own fatherland, and fit to be excluded from the government of the commonweal and association in its councils".

For it is history alone which teaches us about all civil and military institutions and arts, and what favours or opposes their invention, growth and preservation. Ignorance and contempt of it have thus been the cause of the greatest inconveniences and public ruin, and will continue to be so as long as self-esteem combined with neglect of culture is more pleasant to us than "contemplation of antiquity, the inventor of all good things". Examples of this are to be found everywhere, but especially in the history of the French; for here Fortune, as assistant or opponent of valour and prudence, has so demonstrated both her powers as though she wished to show the world in one race all examples which could teach men how to deal with all vicissitudes more clearly "than all the schools or precepts of the philosophers".

But history must not be left solely at this utilitarian level. The memory and observation of past ages, deeds and heroes is more than "a mistress of life"; it is the ruler of the study of learning itself. Other branches of knowledge, once they have reached perfection, do not need to have anything more written about them. But history can have no end until the restless human race ceases to perform acts requiring to be recorded by it; a place will always be left for future historians.

Having paid this fine tribute to the enduring character and value of his subject, Aemilius, like Gaguin, concludes not in a rhetorical flourish but with restraint and simplicity by a brief word on the method he proposes to adopt in making the results of his studies available "for the use of mankind". The narrative of periods, kings and dynasties will be consecutive, but the choice of facts and authors will be such that he will not fill so many volumes as he could out of all he had discovered and was worthy of note. As the Franks did not originally inhabit Gaul, he will not begin to deal with "nearer and more certain things" until he has said a few words on "what they themselves relate about their first origins". Finally, he ^oproposes to mention any external affairs so closely connected with France that they cannot be passed over.

It is hardly necessary to point out how much Humanist doctrine Aemilius has contrived to compress into this short passage, either explicitly or by implication. There is the care in composition and concern for a classical style, the hope of being of profit to the world, the zeal for glory, the high sense of the dignity and pleasure of his subject, the critical caution suggested by the phrasing of the last sentences, the stress on a rational selection of

subject matter. Moreover, it is itself a most successful example of what the Humanists were always attempting to do. Not only is it remarkably well ~~written~~ expressed, with the firmness and grace arising from effortless control of the medium; it is throughout interfused by a sense of unity. The language fits the form, the form the thought; and the thought itself seems the natural emanation from the writer's whole intellectual and spiritual personality. The passage ⁱⁿ by itself would be almost enough to establish the character of Aemilius as a Humanist.

C. Practice of Gaguin and Aemilius. It remains to be considered how far each succeeded in the programme which both thus set before themselves: the arrangement of history and rendering it reasonable; the style imitated from the classics; the ultimate purpose of aiding men practically and morally.

(1) The arrangement of history depends on the material which the author assembles and the use which he subsequently makes of it. Gaguin seems to have restricted the usefulness of his reading by binding himself excessively to a single source, or rather series of sources. Thuasne cites separately as his sources Gregory of Tours, Aimoin, the Latin Chronicles of Saint-Denis, Rigord, the

Great Chronicles.¹ But Gregory of Tours is Aimoin's major source for the period which he covers; Aimoin and Rigord are themselves the Latin Chronicles for their respective periods; and the Latin Chronicles are the main source of the Great Chronicles until they cease to have one. In fact Gaguin is simply penetrating back from one stage to another in an interdependent series.

No one would say that this in itself is not worth doing. Errors in considerable number and sometimes of considerable importance do creep in when a work is reproduced down the centuries by a succession of hands, especially where translation is involved, and they may perpetuate themselves unless at some stage a scrupulous scholar assumes the task of checking back from one source to another. But useful and conscientious a piece of scholarship as this is, it is not the same thing as confronting one independent text by another and making a critical choice between them, or even (if this is beyond the historian's resources) setting them down clearly and impartially side by side so that the reader can exercise his own judgment on them.

Moreover, Gaguin applied his system most ~~where~~ where it

1 Epistole, vol. I, p. 119, notes 1-6.

was least necessary. In the later period it might have been very profitable in detecting the tendencious/manipulation of sources by alterations or omissions to serve some national or faction interest. But that was not the attitude of a mediaeval compiler. Except in rare cases, where some isolated specific advantage was to be gained, his object was to transcribe his source as fully and faithfully as he could, so as to display his erudition and shelter himself behind the authority of a greater name than his own. In such circumstances, variants tended to be involuntary and upon the whole small, a matter of misreading or miswriting figures or proper names, the misunderstanding and hence corruption of some Latin phrase.

Further, although (to a degree varying with the nature of the sources) this process is necessary and useful, a considerable standard of abstract scholarship is requisite for it to serve its purpose properly. In the comparison of two independent sources, something can be done by plain common sense and a feeling for rational probability. But in pursuing small points of divergence between two essentially similar texts, the scholar will need the greatest attention and care and a highly trained critical faculty.

Gaguin was not a scholar in this sense. Some examples have already been given of his failing to detect errors in

his sources. One more may be added. The Gesta Regum Francorum, in describing Dagobert's battle with the Saxons in his father's lifetime, speaks of the piece of his hair which was cut off falling "to the ground"¹. In the Gesta Dagoberti "ad terram" has been read as a proper name, Attira,² becoming Attila in the Great Chronicles,³ and so it appears in the Compendium.⁴

Nor is it perhaps quite safe to assume that Gaguin had studied or even seen all the books which he cites. Early historians are well known not to have been very meticulous in their form of quotation, often naming the original author of a statement which they have only found in a later work. It was not wholly unreasonable; for if the quotation was genuine and correct it was in fact that of the first author and not the second. But it renders it exceedingly difficult to be certain precisely what an author had or had not read. There is no proof that Gaguin was addicted to this habit; but the possibility cannot be excluded.

Gaguin once cites the "Bibliothecarius"⁵. The Liber

1 RHGE, vol. II (Paris 1739), p. 567.

2 Ibid. p. 533.

3 Bk. 5, chap. VI; vol. II, p. 117.

4 F. XX.R.

5 F. XXVI.R.

Pontificalis was well known and treated with deference even by Humanists, and there is no reason why Gaguin should not have had access to it. But this particular point (the imprisonment of Didier and his family at Liege) is one of those for which Biondo also cites the "Bibliothecarius" by name, and in fact apparently in error, for the incident does not seem to feature in the Liber Pontificalis. And we know that Gaguin used Biondo.

There is finally a more general and more important ~~point~~ point. Even if Gaguin had seen and studied all his sources directly, their value in the estimate of him as a historian lies in the use he made of them; and we have seen that with few exceptions they were to him adjuncts rather than component parts of his basic structure.

Where an author pins his faith so much to ~~one~~ one group of sources, the value of his work will depend on the combination of the character of this primary source with his treatment of it.

With regard to the first point, the Saint-Denis Chronicles were by no means a bad choice. They possessed the first merit of a source: they were extremely full, so that the author making use of them was never in lack of facts, even on points of detail. They also reproduce their own sources without unduly disfiguring them. And finally,

though for this very reason they vary greatly with the varying merits of their sources, they in the main keep up a very respectable standard after the early legendary period.

Gaguin also clearly set out with the intention of subjecting this material to the comparative internal criticism which such a compilation required. He seems seldom to check its validity by reference to a superior source, at least specifically. In his one major preference for an independent author, Froissart, he never justifies his choice by any discussion of his weight, and where he cites him by name rather implies that he has none as a serious source. But he possessed enough good sense and good judgment, and enough Humanist culture, to ~~for~~ consider them in the light of ordinary probability and reject their testimony when it became too palpably absurd. There are two passages where he gives his grounds for doing so at considerable length, and it is on these that his reputation as a critical historian rests.

Aimoin had taken the legend of the Frankish descent from the Trojans from "Fredegarius" or the Gesta Regum Francorum². The Great Chronicles in their Prologue have copied the categorical statement in Aimoin's Proem: "Certaine chose est donques que li roi de France, par les quex li roiaumes est glorieus et renommez, descendirent de la noble lignie de Troie", and his narrative in the first chapter of their book.

The very first words of the Compendium strike a non-committal note. "The Franks" says Gaguin, "(like most other nations) boast themselves descended from the Trojans";¹ and he bridged their migration to Lake Maeotis after the fall of Troy in a single sentence. After this typical Humanist evasion of the most delicate point, he is able to bring his critical faculty to bear more boldly on the other traditions as to the origin of the Franks.

He first discusses the derivation of their name, citing Flavius Vopiscus, Paulus Diaconus, and a letter of Cicero to Atticus in support of his preference for that from a leader ~~Frank~~ Francus rather than the impression they made of ferocity or liberty by their dealings with Valentinian II, giving examples of the use of the name in earlier periods, and commenting adversely on the ignorance on this point of Gregory of Tours and his source Sulpitius Alexander. But, he adds, though he has given the generally accepted version of their migrations, he is rendered suspicious by references in Caesar and Strabo to the presence of Sicambrians on the Rhine, unless indeed these were a different group from those expelled from Sicambria under Valentinian. However all this may be, he is surprised that none of the previous French authors have noticed it.

A little later, describing their settlement in Gaul,

¹ F.I.R.

he launches into invective against an unnamed "chronicler" who has recently dedicated a history to Charles VIII, for attributing the foundation of Paris to them in 395 B.C., and demonstrates the double inconsistency of this date convincingly from chronological arguments and reference to Caesar's capture of Paris. And he concludes with a still more emphatic assertion of suspended judgment than that with which he had begun: "But indeed I have no information as to the real origin of the Franks."¹

He is even more specific in his rejection of fabulous matter in his treatment of the legends connected with Charlemagne. There is nothing ~~in~~ these in the Continuator of Aimoin. The Great Chronicles, having begun with a combination of Einhard's Vita Karoli, the Annales Laurissenses, and a few entries from inferior sources like the Monk of Saint-Gall, fill in the remainder of their narrative (more than half) by the Journey of Charlemagne to Jerusalem and the pseudo-Turpin's account of his Spanish expedition. These were both in Latin, and were preserved in the Saint-Denis archives: and by virtue of this double prestige they enjoyed a confidence in no sense justified by their content. This ensured their inclusion in the early publications of the Great Chronicles, and by the time the last was prepared in the reign of Charles V the sacramental character of the whole compilation had become so firmly established that whatever scepticism the editors may have felt

1. F. II. V.

they did not dare to omit or modify even what was most incredible in it.

Gaguin here indulges in no equivocation. "I am not ignorant" he says,¹ "that some authors add" an expedition by Charlemagne to Jerusalem at the request of the Eastern Emperor. But "I cannot easily bring myself to believe this." It is improbable in itself that amid the continual wars in Italy, Spain and Gascony he would have found opportunity to make so distant an expedition; and there is no evidence for his having gone outside Italy and Germany after the beginning of his reign. Nor is he likely to have gone after his coronation as Emperor, when Constantine [VI] was suspect to him as a rival and also suffering from a serious leprosy which would have stood in the way of their interview. The authors of the tradition specify neither time nor place, except the wood (giving neither its name nor district) in which Charlemagne lost his way until guided by a bird with a human voice. As if, says Gaguin contemptuously, so experienced a general would have trusted himself and his army by night to the thickets of an unknown wood without reliable guides. "These are rather the delirious ravings of old women (deliramenta...vetularum) than of men composing history with knowledge and care." In

1 F. XXVII.V.

any case, "he who has recorded the life and acts of St. ²
~~Sev~~^{Sev}acius" denies that Charlemagne ever ~~led~~ led an expedition against the Saracens.

As to the Spanish expedition, Gaguin says ¹ that the stories derived from Turpin of Rheims "seem to me to have much of the impudence of the Greeks (? grecanicae), and to be very much like poetic fictions" (instancing the walls of Pampeluna falling at the sound of trumpets, the soldiers' spears sprouting at Toledo, the exaggerated account of Charlemagne's strength). Nor can he easily believe "what the Chronicler of Saint-Denis relates of the giant Fernagus (sic), beyond all respect for the reliability of history", comparing them to the poets' fictions as to the Titans: he who can believe them may also believe the story found in "some Roman authors" of the monstrous skeleton of Antaeus unearthed by Sertorius at Tingena. "Indeed" adds Gaguin, ² "when I was at Toledo, and lauded Charlemagne to the skies as having subdued a large portion of Spain and Toledo itself, I was brought a book called the Praises of Spain, in which what I have related about Charlemagne was refuted with all the zeal and energy of the author." And his summing up makes his position plain: "Among so many contradictory opinions I will not pass judgment

1 F. XXVIII.R.

2 F. XXVII.V.

on which should be followed, except that I agree with those who do not admit the journey to Jerusalem."

Had Gaguin given us much in this style, he could fearlessly have challenged comparison with Aemilius or most other Humanist historians. But these are the only two occasions where he uses this critical faculty to any wide extent; there are minor instances, but they are not in the main very important. Some tacit exercise of it was naturally forced upon him by his drastic abridgment of the Great Chronicles. He had to make a choice, and this involved criticism. On the whole he does this reasonably well, for it was a task for which good sense and a feeling for relative values would be almost enough. He has picked out the more important points to stress, and prunes away the worst excrescences (edifying anecdotes, "incidents", gross irrelevances such as the legendary adventures of Belisarius and Theodoric). But this required no overt challenge to his authority, no introduction of outside sources for comparison.

The degree of his dependence in general can be illustrated by reference to a point where it would be very little expected. One of the weakest periods of the Great Chronicles is the last years of the Carolingians and first years of the Capetians. The French records are scanty and poor, and the compilers of the Great Chronicles seem to have

missed such as there are. Lacking Raoul Glaber, Helgaud and Richer, they have been compelled to turn to the rich but romantic matter afforded by Guillaume de Jumièges, with the result that all this part is marked not only by a disproportionate detail on purely Norman affairs but by a pro-Norman bias rising in places to an active hostility to France. This does not surprise or jar unduly in the Great Chronicles, because being throughout a compilation from very varied sources, they have been given no more than a superficial unity by the compiler, underneath which we continually feel a change of tone as we pass from period to period and author to author. Also, though broadly national in character in virtue of their semi-official status, they always (both from their own provenance and the nature of many of their sources) essentially preserved much of the supranational theocratic attitude of the monastic chronicle; so that there is no sustained patriotic and royalist tone with which this change of attitude would appear markedly inconsistent.

But the Compendium was supposed to be an individual digest, a deliberate selection, and also it is aggressively nationalist. Everything seems to suggest that here if anywhere Gaguin would have questioned his source and looked round to see if there were no others by which to confirm,

modify, or even replace it. But quite the contrary, this is one of the places where he follows it most closely. He adopts its whole attitude, goes into detail on the murder of William Longsword¹ and the adventures of Richard the Fearless² (for whose introduction of pagan allies he has no word of blame), and is markedly hostile to the French kings throughout in their relations with Normandy.

One or two smaller points may be added to show that this is not an isolated case. The Great Chronicles for some reason dismiss the Norman Conquest in a single sentence³ and the First Crusade in a single paragraph⁴, although they treat all the others in which the French were involved at considerable length. In A and B Gaguin does not mention the Norman Conquest⁵ at all, and the First Crusade only by way of parenthesis in the middle of a reference to some other subject⁵. In D he has a single sentence on the Norman Conquest⁶, and gives a very brief account of the antecedents of the Crusade, breaking off on the

1 F. XL.R.

2 F. XL.V.

3 Philippe I, chap. I; vol. V, p. 75.

4 Ibid. pp. 76-8.

5 C. F. XXXIX.R.

6 F. XLIII.V.

7 F. XLIII.R ss.

arrival of the Crusaders in Syria, as if he meant to continue the story in another insertion later but forgot.

This failure to make more use of the critical faculty which he clearly possessed seems best explicable in the first place by something of a mediaeval lack of interest, the feeling that a fact found in an authoritative source was set down as it stood as a matter of course, and secondly by the unfortunate plan which he had adopted.

This is supported by finding the converse apply to Aemilius. Apart from his excessive dependence in parts on Biondo, and ^{from} ~~for~~ the greater place given to narrative as opposed to documentary material, he seems to have set about preparing his book much as a modern historian would, by reading all the sources available to him which might bear on the subject, even if only on small or single points, and then allowing this accumulated stock of information to blend itself in his mind before he reproduced it in the rearranged form in which it was his own.

He not only had the advantage of a greater Humanist interest in criticism as such; also by a cumulative process the better scheme of his work helped him to better execution. His sources stood on an equal footing: he might take more from some than from others (though this in itself was an act of choice), but none held for him a position of sacrosanct authority. He was thus compelled, whether intentionally or

not, to decide afresh which to follow for each period. This in itself would have set the book a higher critical standard than Gaguin's, even if Aemilius' sources had not been greater, numerically; and it seems to be this, rather than any special superiority on the part of Aemilius in intellect or historical judgment, which enabled him to write a better book. He has no individual passages better than Gaguin's on the Franks and Charlemagne. The difference is that what Gaguin does only twice with any real energy and care, Aemilius does quietly all the time as a matter of course.

His treatment of the question of the Franks and Charlemagne is similar and less full. He had had the advantage of Gaguin's comments, and may have regarded lengthy discussion as less necessary in consequence. He does not name him in either case, but the opening words are almost an echo: "The Franks claim to be derived from Troy."¹ The reference to the same letter of Cicero and conjecture that the Francones mentioned in it might be the same as the Franks also suggests imitation, at least if we consider only the chronological relation of the two printed books. But the case may possibly not be quite so simple. In Francie Antiquitates Aemilius in describing the traditions as to the origins of the Franks cites this very letter of Cicero, with its slight variant of the name (Frangones).² Subsequently

1 F. II.R.
2 p', F.IV.V.

in speaking of the turning of the tide against the Saracens in Spain, he says that they "now" possess only one kingdom there, in Betica, the other three being Christian.¹ Unless he was here copying some source more blindly than was usual for him, this would fix the date of Francie Antiquitas as prior to the fall of Granada in 1492, or at least three years earlier than the first edition of the Compendium. In this case, either both stumbled on the same original sources, a peculiar though not impossible coincidence; or both drew on the same intermediate abridgment, perhaps Orosius, which is less creditable and interesting but greatly more probable; or the case must be a strange reversal of what one would expect, with Gaguin drawing on Aemilius. This cannot be decided without more knowledge than we possess of what extent of circulation the MSS. of Aemilius had. The two men knew one another, and Gaguin was interested enough in history by the later '80s to read whatever came to hand in the way of a French compendium. But, as we have seen, he is specific that the question had not been previously considered in his way by any French author.

If anything, the note of scepticism has become slightly more marked in the De Rebus Gestis. The whole first paragraph is in oratio obliqua; it is all what the French "claim" as to their early days, linking up with the similar phrasing at the

1 Ibid. F. XCVIII.V.

end of the Preface, where these remote legends are contrasted with the "more certain" affairs nearer home. And Aemilius concludes with some sensible remarks to the effect that it is not surprising that the early days of the Franks were veiled in obscurity, as the splendour of the Roman Empire dimmed all the neighbouring nations: and when they re-emerged in its decline they were regarded as new, "and their origins being doubtful, it was free to each to feign what they pleased".

The Charlemagne legends he does not discuss; he simply ignores them. It cannot be known how far he was influenced by Gaguin's reasoning, or whether two intelligent minds came independently to the same ~~very obvious obvious~~ conclusion. Here again Aemilius had given fuller discussion in the same sense in the MSS., so that derivation from Gaguin, at first sight obvious, is not in fact incontestable.

On both these points indeed it might be said, as Fueter does of Valla's disproving of the Donation of Constantine,¹ that destructive criticism required more courage than perspicacity. Even the courage was perhaps less than might ~~appear~~ appear, for both Gaguin and Aemilius were discreetly non-committal on the only issue (the descent from Troy) which official opinion had taken formally under its protection.

1 Geschichte der neueren Historiographie, trans. Émile Jeanmaire as Histoire de l'historiographie moderne (Paris 1914), p. 135.

Even this legend was to some extent obnoxious to criticism by the later part of the XVIth century. Ronsard was a thorough courtier, writing the Franciade with the openly declared intention of pleasing Charles IX; he would scarcely have risked the expression of a view likely to outrage influential circles. Yet in the Preface to the first edition (1572) he explains carefully that he is writing as a poet, not a historiographer. History is bound to the truth; for poetry it is enough to be plausible (vraisemblable).

Ronsard, rather boldly, expresses his conviction that the events of the Iliad and Odyssey never occurred; they were built up from popular traditions, with a view to flattering the vanity of the reigning royal house. He proposes to do the same in the Franciade, choosing a theme of which the French people are firmly convinced on the strength of their ancient annals and "common fame", and which is so creditable to the French monarchy. Francion could have made his way from Troy to France; therefore from the point of view of the poet there is enough plausibility in the story for an epic to be constructed upon it.¹ Ronsard could hardly have indicated more clearly what his attitude would have been had he been writing as a historian.

1 Oeuvres, ed. P. Blancem^hain (Bibliothèque Elzévirienne, vol. III, Paris 1868), pp. 7-10.

Nevertheless, when we remember that Aemilius was officially employed, and that Gaguin's work later obtained a sort of official standing, it is remarkable that more indignation was not aroused by Gaguin's scornful language and Aemilius' almost more scornful silence on the cherished though less sacrosanct glories of Charlemagne. They did not pass wholly without comment. Jean Bouchet in the middle of the next century is mildly indignant with Gaguin for his rejection of Turpin's authority, quoting Antonius Sabellicus as saying in his Enneades that he would be ashamed to give the lie to such an author, who was archbishop of Rheims, and a holy man, and worthy of belief, and was present at the expedition, and thus to be preferred to those writing 500 years after the event. This last is a good point in itself, and one which Gaguin does not meet, since he nowhere discusses the personal existence of Turpin or the validity of his testimony on external grounds. Bouchet defends the possibility of the size of Ferragus by reference to "the virtue of the celestial bodies" and examples derived from Pliny and Herodotus.¹ But in general the tolerance of both official and popular opinion seems to have been greater than one would have expected.

While both Gaguin and Aemilius were thus in agreement

1 Les Annales d'Aquitaine, Part 2, chap. VII, ^{ed.} Mounin, (Poitiers 1644), pp. 93-4.

in rejecting the wildly improbable even when adduced by the authority of the Great Chronicles, Aemilius went a step further in historical method. Where he finds a number of sources to conflict, he assembles and weighs them. His most common, and quite sound, express motive for trust is that an author is contemporary. He considers that the German authors are to be believed as to the marriage between the Emperor Henry and Constance of Sicily, because their chronology is so exact,¹ whereas he is sceptical of their statement that the tumults in Rome on the entry of Henry V were caused by the Romans, because "all others" attribute them to the Germans.² Sometimes he cites his sources; sometimes, less satisfactorily, he asks us to take the grounds for his choice on trust. Where he sees no adequate reason to make one, he leaves the various alternatives to the reader's judgment, either specifically or with some vague remark such as: "For authors vary."

This lack of precision was due to the excessive Humanist preoccupation with preserving an even flow of narrative, not broken by pedantic data. Though Aemilius does adduce names, the only occasion when he assembles a whole array of sources is the origin of the Schism, partly perhaps because this was an ecclesiastical question, and in religious controversy

1 F. CXX.R.
2 F. XCIX.R.

tradition allowed and demanded appeal to as many authorities as possible, and partly to save himself from the dilemma that as the official French historiographer he could not give free expression to his Urbanist sympathies as an Italian. The safest course seemed to be to collect what had been said on both sides and conclude that where respectable opinion was so much divided it was permissible for him to relate the matter factually and following the best authorities of the age, in a simple narrative and with the highest piety, not offering his own opinion among the conflicting beliefs and enthusiasms, except that he considers it to have happened because the Deity was angered by the sins of ~~xxxx~~ the age.¹

But he clearly practised this process on some conscious theoretical grounds. After describing the Norman Conquest he mentions respectively the versions of the Norman annals and those who follow them, and of the Danish annals, commenting how "not only individual authors but national monuments differ from one another", and how difficult this makes the writing of history.² Similarly in connection with the variants on Roncevaux he observes that he has followed the Gascon annals where the French, Latin and Spanish authors are all in disagreement ("in summa...varietate").³

1 Ff. CCIV.V-CCV.V.

2 F. LXIX.R.

3 F. XLII.R.

There is an unexpectedly modern note in this ~~xxx~~ recognition of various collective attitudes by which facts (and particularly groups of facts) are arranged and coloured, and thus may be changed and disfigured more subtly than by positive error or wilful untruth, and all the more misleadingly because the transmutation is often so instinctive as to be unconscious. Gaguin was aware that individual authors might be ignorant or prejudiced. But he nowhere rises to this conception of the wider complexities of historical method or the responsibility of the historian to meet them conscientiously. He had an excellent opportunity to make some reflections of this kind in connection with his being shown the Fraises of Spain; but he does not do so.

But although Gaguin thus cannot follow Aemilius to the higher synthesis: "So and so says...But on the other hand so and so says...and this is right (or more probable); because...", in dealing with the simpler formula: "So and so says...But this is wrong (or improbable); because...", they are very much on a level. Where Aemilius retains an advantage, it is again due largely to his relation to his sources, which encouraged him to check them in this way, as in others, more often and more boldly. Gaguin required some striking unlikelihood or absurdity to shock him out of his habitual attitude of acceptance. Aemilius was free to use his own mind as a matter of course to ~~xxx~~ reflect on any point

which struck him as in any way peculiar.

Thus Gaguin repeats without thought all the calumnies which his Saint-Denis sources had accumulated round the name of Brunechild. Aemilius was one of the few early authors to cast doubt on this misrepresentation, citing Boccaccio's reflection that as a foreigner she would have been the victim of suspicion, and bluntly stigmatising as "pure tragedy" the generally accepted stories on the fate of Theodobert and Theodoric.¹ Gaguin, following Aimoin,² adds as an afterthought that "some other authors write" that Theodoric died a natural death;³ but he does not discuss the probability of this or its bearing on the clearing of Brunechild's name.

Similarly Gaguin had been satisfied with a discreet expression of suspended judgment ("If we can believe it") as to the supposed longevity of Johannes a Temporibus.⁴ Aemilius (who interestingly but without explanation omends his name to a Stampis), considers the question, points out that he is not mentioned by any authors in the ages when he was said to have lived, and tentatively suggests some

1 F. XIX.B.

2 Historia Francorum, Bk. 3, chap. C; p. 305.

3 F. XVIII.V.

4 F. XLVIII.V.

confusion between Charlemagne and the Charles who was the rival of Hughes Capet, which would reduce his age from 360 to 160, in itself remarkable enough "in the old age of the world".¹

His attitude to his sources also gave him the advantage that he could make use of Biondo's preliminary critical labours in a way which Gaguin seems not to have felt himself free to do. Biondo discusses and rejects the council held at Rome by Adrian I and the privilege of appointing the Pope which he bestowed on Charlemagne, on the sound argument of the silence of contemporaries, with the perhaps unnecessary addition that so moderate an Emperor would not have accepted such a responsibility even if offered.² Aemilius silently ignores the whole episode. This might be mere coincidence of judgment. But soon afterwards he echoes Biondo's arguments almost verbally on the question of Charlemagne's visits to Rome.³

Where Aemilius is not enjoying these advantages of his method, they are very similar in both their strength and their weakness. Both are sensible and conscientious; neither could be more infallible than the conditions of

1 F. CVII.R.

2 Historia, Decade 2, Ek. I; p. 167.

3 F. XLIII.R.

the scholarship of their age allowed. Both at times slip into errors, either from defect of judgment or thoughtless acceptance of some familiar tradition. Neither realised that the University of Paris did not come into corporate existence until Philippe II's ordinance of 1200. Gaguin attributes it to Charlemagne; Aemilius, if by his vague phrase "¹sacra ²scola Parisiorum" he means us to understand an official universitas, has blundered even worse by putting its origin back into some yet more remote (unspecified) past.²

The other major mistake which Gaguin made on his own initiative (he was not led into either of these by the Great Chronicles) was inclusion of the legend of the foundation of the kingdom of Yvetot.³ He says he saw the report of the official enquiry held in 1498. Thuasne mentions a "*Historia unde processit regnum de Yvetot*" from the abbey of Saint-Victor, and says Gaguin follows it very closely, but without making it clear whether the two documents are identical.⁴ Gaguin could have found the story in Nicole Gilles, if the Annales et Chroniques de France were published in 1492. But he himself expresses surprise

1 F. XXXVIII.V.

2 F. LIII.R.

3 F. IX.R,V.

4 Epistole, vol. I, p.123, n. 3.

that "that it has not been set in writing by any French author". Though it is an obvious fable to modern eyes, Thuaene points out that it is too much to expect a XVth century French historian to discredit an official document on bare grounds of probability.¹ Aemilius omits the story; but as he does not discuss it we cannot tell whether this is because he regarded as untrue or frivolous.

But although in all this Aemilius' advantage was in the main only indirectly creditable to him individually, in that he had chosen a better course at the outset, he perhaps had one individual quality to a higher degree. His historical penetration and judgment were little, if at all, better than Gaguin's; but he does seem to have possessed more historical imagination. Gaguin's general lack of this was of course not in every way a disadvantage. Without the resources of an exact scholarship to check it, a strong imagination could be a danger, and when Gaguin indulges it his flights are seldom well judged. But its absence gives the Compendium a thin and disjointed effect. When Gaguin does set up a connection between events, it is usually in a crude mechanical way, merely from their juxtaposition of place in his sources; and thus it becomes misleading rather than revealing, especially

1 Ibid. p. 124.

as he often introduces it only by implication, by linking sentences by some causal clause without any explanation of his reasons by which we could judge of their validity.

Aemilius had a much more vivid sense of the inter-relation of facts, and as he read seems to have asked himself continually whether this might not have accounted for that. This, as has just been said, was not without its dangers. Aemilius is sometimes needlessly subtle and sometimes excessively bold, though his conjectures are usually interesting and his reasoning often excellent. His theory as to who were the true authors of the attempt on the life of Prince Edward at Acre,¹ though apparently never taken up by later historians, might repay investigation. Occasionally even his judgment deserts him, as when he makes the Treaty of Paris (1259) the preliminary to a reconciliation with England designed to facilitate Louis IX's second Crusade.² But errors of this kind are rare with him, as with Gaguin.

Indeed the real weakness of his method here is less that he does not almost always guess intelligently than that he does not make a regular practice of telling us where it is a guess and upon what grounds he is making it. It was an excellent thought to try to find some rational explanation

1 F. CLV.V.

2 F. CLIIII.V.

for the first revolt of the sons of Louis le Debonnaire, and there is nothing improbable about his suggestion; but he gives no authority for his categorical statement of it as a fact. But this, though too frequent, is not universal with him; on some occasions also he acknowledges that he is proceeding by conjecture, and argues his case fairly and plausibly.

More than this, he makes a small beginning at employing this imagination in a much more profound and modern way as an awareness of the differences of the past. This was entirely personal to himself, for lack of it was one of the greatest defects of the orthodox Humanists. In his rhetorical passages indeed he is as much infected by it as any of the others, and is capable of making Clovis and Theodoric carry on a dignified diplomatic correspondence more fitting to XIIIth or XIVth century monarchs², or Charlemagne harangue his troops on the necessity of discipline like an imperator of the Roman Republic.³

But in his narrative he does occasionally distinguish between what was likely to happen at different periods. One of Gaguin's few real lapses in taste was the introduction of

1 F. LIIII.R.

2 Ff. VI.V-VII.R.

3 F. XI.R.

the tale of Louis d'Outremer's revenge on Herbert of Vermandois.¹ Aemilius in mentioning his death from natural causes at a later date, observes that his son Albert is known to have succeeded him in his countship and to have been in favour at court, and adds that it is highly improbable in itself that the great nobles would have allowed such treatment of one of their number,² a comment showing some awareness that the conditions of the early feudal monarchy were not the same as those of his own day.

This, so far as it went, was a personal and very creditable quality. But the probability is that it was again environment rather than individual capacity which enabled Aemilius to treat in a bolder and more thorough spirit the greatest obstacle in the way of the early writers who attempted to rationalise history, that is, the continual and accepted presence of the supernatural in ordinary affairs.

Apart from a tenacious concern with astrology and predictions, and a non-committal attitude to portents if in sufficiently distant regions, which persisted throughout the XVth century, the cruder manifestations of this had more or less disappeared by the end of the XVth century among those writing contemporary history. The case was different and more embarrassing for the historians of the past. The

1 V. p. 167.
2 F. LXIII.R.

Humanists were sceptical of what contradicted the normal reasonable course of events; they also disliked these legends as grotesque and disfiguring to the classical dignity of their narrative. But they probably did not disbelieve them, in the way of actual conviction; and they had no wish to displease the ecclesiastical and political authorities upon whose favour or at least tolerance their success and comfort depended.

Both Gaguin and Aemilius were in a public position in which some caution of expression was necessary. But on the other hand neither was ignorant, credulous or superstitious; and both were conscious that they were writing for a cultured public which would have no taste for the crude legends of a popular compilation like that of Nicole Gilles.

But whereas Aemilius had presumably had the usual environment of an Italian Humanist, Gaguin, the son of humble parents in Artois, with an education exclusively ecclesiastical until he came to Paris as a grown man, had spent his early years among the citizens, peasants and lower clergy of northern France in an atmosphere where the miraculous was still regarded as a natural part of everyday life.¹ On entering the more enlightened circles of Paris he threw off

1 The Vaquerie of Arras broke out in 1459, when Gaguin was in his middle twenties.

much of this attitude, and his comments on popular superstition are sane and sensible. But it was only to be expected that it should leave in the back of his mind a willingness to suspend the criterion of reason.

Moreover, this fitted in with the other side of his Paris life, his career as an earnest churchman; and it should further be observed that this career in itself constituted an obstacle to any open display of such scepticism as he may have felt. Aemilius as the official historiographer had only to avoid views which might cause positive scandal; otherwise he was more bound to be tender of legends affecting the crown than the church. Gaguin as the head of an important Order, the Dean of a Faculty in the highly orthodox University of Paris, was obliged to supply some measure of edification; and the remarkable thing is that there should not be more of it.

Thus where the pious legends cannot be omitted or modified, they are hedged in by all the customary cautious formulae. The bestowal of the auriflamme is "handed down by tradition"; that of the lilies in the royal arms is vouched for by "no certain author" but by the testimony of the monks of the monastery of St. Bartholemew of Gaudiem Vallis, who still show the fountain which witnessed it.¹

1 F. V.V.

But these asides are not universal, and rather strangely they occur less in the edifying incidents added to D. Gaguin seems not to have been aware that in this unqualified form they not merely in themselves detract from his book from the Humanist point of view but remove much of the foundation of his Humanist criticism of the prodigious side of the history of Charlemagne. If you once admit cases of the alteration or suspension of natural laws, there seems little reason to set bounds to them.

There is ^{not much} ~~very little~~ of this in Aemilius. Where he has occasion to mention the supernatural he adds a comment of urbane scepticism, sometimes almost in Gibbonian wording. The death of the priest responsible for the finding of the Holy Lance at Antioch from the crush of people pressing to see him "in the eyes of many made the apparent judgment of the fire more doubtful".¹ Or else he weakens the implications of the story by denial of some attendant circumstances, or simply by the inconclusiveness of the phrasing. Sometimes he mentions the incident as what "is told", adding some possible rational explanation of the phenomenon; or he may even reverse the process, giving his own version first as the fact, and adding why it was popularly [?] supposed to be supernatural. His reference to the legend of how Dagobert as

1 F. XCI.V.

a youth was protected from his father's revenge by St. Denis and his companions is simply that Clotaire II was so angry that the reconciliation "appeared a miracle", and thus the legend grew up around it.¹ Sometimes the effect is skilfully produced by implication. In describing the death of bishop Nicasius during the sack of Rheims by the Huns, Biondo says: "Ex cuius ore postquam abscisum corpore caput iacebat, divini eloquii carmina sunt auditi."² In Aemilius this becomes: "Hymnos extrema voce concinentem."³

As was only to be expected, Aemilius has not always pitched on the correct explanation in these attempted rationalisations. But the method shows a real awareness of the way in which popular tradition grows up and can sometimes be pursued back to its source. Gaguin seems not to have thought ~~in~~ of the problem in these terms. He accepts or evades a legend; he does not explain it. It was not that he was credulous; but his circumstances bound him more than Aemilius to the mediaeval tradition in this as in other respects.

On the other hand, Aemilius has no marked superiority in the mechanical side of scholarship which consists in accurate treatment of sources. He also was not always watchful enough to avoid copying the errors of others; and where he goes

2 Historiae, Decade 1, Bk. II; p. 22.

3 F. III.V.

1 Ff. XIX.V-XX.R.

astray in this respect he is more misleading than Gaguin, precisely because he is more ambitious and critical and therefore tries to emend an incomprehensible or unsatisfactory statement, or elaborates it into a rhetorical flourish. Having drawn from the Great Chronicles,¹ the Continuator of AIMOIN,² or Biondo,³ the misreading of Plectrudis for the Beletrudis of the Continuator of "Fredegarus", he has built upon the error an elaborate account of her pathetic appeal to the dwellers on the banks of the Danube.⁴

Both Gaguin and Aemilius also occasionally fall into small errors of their own, or what appear to be such; for to check them fully it would be necessary to know every single source which they had so much as glanced at and might have derived a variant from. Some may be deliberate alterations for good reasons. Others are very small, and may be due simply to alternative copies of the sources. Many are of the nature of discrepant figures, the easiest and commonest of all scribes' errors, or names, again arising easily in transcription or translation. Until all these possibilities

1 Bk. 5, chap. XXV; vol. II, p. 222.

2 Historia Francorum, Bk. 4, chap. LII; p. 391.

3 Historia, Decade 1, Bk. X; p. 140.

4 F. XXVI.R.

have been exhausted, we cannot be certain that what appears a mistake is not a perfectly correct variant reading of the same text, with equal chances of being what the author originally wrote or was in fact the case.

But in addition both Gaguin and Aemilius contain a number of certain or almost certain mistakes which they did not find in their sources. Gaguin was presumably not responsible for the persistent Edward III (for II) in the rubric¹; but there is also Henry IV (for I) in the text.² These are in the main mere slips of the pen. But one has a wider extension. Gaguin nowhere calls the Black Prince Edward. On several occasions he calls him Richard,³ and otherwise the Prince of Wales. He does not mention his death, and speaks without transition of "Richard the son of Edward⁴, the new king of England".⁴ For a reader not very attentive and fairly knowledgeable as to English history, the implication is that the Black Prince succeeded his father in a perfectly ordinary way, and then suffered all the vicissitudes of Richard II's subsequent fate; and in fact some later writers copying from Gaguin were misled by this equivocal phraseology.⁵

1 C. F. XLVI.R.

2 C. F. XXX.R.

3 F. LXXXI.R.

4 F. XCI.V.

5 V. p. 152.

Besides these cases in which they are demonstrably wrong, there are also statements opposed by the concordant testimony of other writers, inherent improbability, or both; and finally (particularly in Aemilius) the doubtful cases in which they have an independent version, not impossible in itself, which their known sources either do not mention or are not in agreement upon.

But even allowing for a number of slips and lapses of judgment of this sort, the total effect of an analysis of Gaguin and Aemilius on this point is creditable to both. They lived in an age when historical scholarship was not far advanced, and neither of them even aimed at it in the sense that Biondo and his followers did. Yet they took their profession of men of letters seriously enough to pay a real scholarly attention to the material before them; and considering their limited facilities for obtaining variant texts, and ~~the~~ limited training in collating them, the positive errors which they committed were very few and very trivial. They inevitably had not the equipment which would have protected them from being misled by the sources themselves; but in view of all their circumstances, the mechanical handling of their texts was carried out by both with an impressive conscientiousness and success.

So far~~the~~ the assumption has been that that the authors were attempting to reproduce their sources as accurately as possible, and that where they failed it was due to the mistake of some one else misleading them, to some inadequacy of their critical equipment, or to a momentary inattention. But there is another source of corruption and error. The author may want to relate the facts differently. He may be the official or semi-official organ of some party, the domestic biographer of some great man, a disappointed man in retirement with an impulse to justify himself, or simply the representative of some attitude.

In these circumstances he is likely (to a greater or lesser degree according to his position, the strength of his prejudice, and his personal character) to alter whatever runs contrary to his opinion in his texts, either by deliberate untruth in assertion or omission or by altering the light in which events are placed, though he may try to veil this by protestations of impartiality or more skilfully by the inclusion of a number of documents, which he professes to leave to speak for themselves, though they are in fact so chosen as to tell heavily on his side of the question.

Of these different methods of tampering with sources, deliberate untruth was relatively rare. Authors would

presumably have felt more scruple over it; they would have feared more to be found out; and in earlier days at least it would have been contrary to their conception of the absolute character of recorded facts. Where it occurs, it is almost entirely among the official historiographers. Positive lies had always been adduced in the pamphlets employed in party conflicts such as those of the Popes and Emperors, the Armagnacs and Burgundians; and where ~~the~~ historical productions ~~xxxx~~ had the same purpose they also might contain them. The chronicle of John Hardyng (first version 1457, second 1464) was officially commissioned and based on elaborately forged documents designed to prove English overlordship of Scotland.¹ The biographers and memorialists only tell lies under the influence of some very powerful motive of animosity, flattery, or self-glorification. The mere representatives of an attitude do not do so at all, for they have no conscious intention of deceiving; the colour they put on narrative and interpretation is instinctive.

Alteration of the appearance of events is much more common, and indeed in its mildest forms can hardly be distinguished from the expression of the writer's basic beliefs and attitude which is scarcely avoidable in any form

1 C.L. Kingsford; English Historical literature in the Fifteenth Century (Oxford 1913), pp. 141-4.

of composition. No two authors will arrange and emphasise a group of facts in quite the same way; and if they are people of strong feelings and pronounced opinions the divergence may be considerable.

Neither Gaguin nor Aemilius lower themselves to untruth, and they do not indulge unduly even in misrepresentation. In this they were greatly assisted by the form of history which they had chosen; for this peculiar temptation is largely confined to contemporary history, dealing with issues in which men's interests and passions are still directly concerned. The remote past may be deliberately manipulated to serve some contemporary purpose. ~~xx~~ A dispute such as that on the French succession may involve arguments drawn tendenciously from history, as in the tract of Jean de Montreuil included in the Chronique Martiniane¹. In a more general way, national myths might be given a propaganda value, as the Arthurian legend was exploited in the interest of the Tudor dynasty.² But otherwise the past could be treated with relative detachment within the limitations created by the national, social and ecclesiastical

1 Antoine Verard, 2 vols. Paris [1503?] .

2 D. Hay: The Anglica Historia of Polydore Vergil A.D. 1485-1537 (Camden Series, LXXIV, Royal Historical Society, London 1950), p. xxxiv.

prepossessions of the writer and by what was expected of him by the patron or audience for whom he was writing.

As was to be anticipated, national prejudice is more pronounced in Gaguin than in Aemilius. He was a Frenchman, and had grown up in the generation for whom national consciousness was becoming a reality; and he was a politician who had taken a small but active part in the destinies of the nation. There can be no question that his feelings in this respect were inbred and sincere, not assumed in the Compendium in order to conciliate favour. They are consistent with everything we know of his views and conduct, and they were at times so powerful as to overbear his habitual prudence. On two occasions he contrived to embroil himself in wrangles with members of the countries to which he had been sent on diplomatic missions.¹ The first, in England, was wholly gratuitous. On the second, in Germany, the Alsatian Humanist Jacob Wimpheling was the aggressor. But Gaguin's language in reply was far from conciliatory; and even the lines which he had addressed to the University of Heidelberg on the hospitable welcome he had been given by the professor Adam Werner could have been more tactfully worded in their expression

1 Epistole, vol. I, pp. 83-6, 101.

of his previous opinion of the Germans: "Hec effrena mihi natio visa fuit. Nunc...pono metum."

Several years before the formal manifesto of his attitude in the Compendium, his letter to François Ferrabouc¹ had breathed a tone of conscious and provocative nationalism still rather uncommon in France at the end of the XVth century, although it had been prepared for more than a hundred years.² Gaguin not only extols France for every conceivable advantage, physical and economic (except those which a beneficent providence knew it would be better without), political and social, intellectual, artistic and moral; his invective against the Spaniards ranges from the remarkable charge that the small degree of military glory which they had earned had not been abroad in pursuit of fame and empire but "around their familiar hearths", in which they showed "execrable savagery" in preferring to commit mass suicide rather than surrender, to the complaint that their inns offered no service and were foul with filth and vermin.

The influence of this attitude, conscious or unconscious, is present as an under-current throughout the whole of the Compendium. While occasionally himself criticising the French

1 Ep. V; Epistole, vol. I, pp. 185-208.

2 V. Thuausne's references to precursors in notes to the letter: Ibid. pp. 187-8.

from the angle of the moralist or satirist, he champions them with a warmth reaching at times the pitch of absurdity in relation to any hostile criticism or rival peoples. In the description of Gaul there is an idyllic passage of the amenities of France, and an indignant refutation of Petrarch's calumnies on it, strongly reminiscent of the style of the letter to Ferrabouc and perhaps partly derived from it.¹ After describing how Lodovico Sforza recovered his dominions through the terror inspired by the thorough methods of the French soldiery ("but the Italian writers call it cruelty, because the mercenary Italian soldiers want the spoils of the enemy rather than the end of the war"), he launches into a diatribe on the savage nature of the Italians from Romulus down to his own day, and their ill faith and ingratitude in attempting by fraud against the French, who had deserved so well of them (instancing their foundations of cities, Charlemagne, the Norman rulers of Sicily), what they did not dare by open force. Each nation from its origin has its congenital vices, and each reproaches the other with them. "But," concludes Gaguin calmly, "I have not undertaken the task of writing a panegyric of the French and a satire

1 Ff. II.V-IV.R.

¹
against the Italians."

In fact, the vast claim of impartiality made for Gaguin by Cornelius Gerard in his Epistle² cannot be taken very seriously. It must be repeated that Gaguin was altogether truthful, and that the accusations of lying brought against him by authors of other countries had no foundation except in their own parallel partisanship.³ But the Compendium is the product of a definite attitude of mind, which must always be taken into account in any estimate of its trustworthiness.

The position of Aemilius was more favourable. The Humanist historians are sometimes accused of producing servile panegyrics of the patrons for whom they wrote; and in many cases this may have been true. But against it should be set the fact that they were often writing the history of a country not their own. They fulfilled the demands of national susceptibility without much scruple, and probably even with some real sympathy when they warmed to their work. Tito Livio's biography of Henry V⁴ is an example of how far they

1 F. CXLVII.R,V.

2 Second F. n.c. at end (sig. F.iii).V.

3 V. p.145.

4 ~~xxxxxx~~ V. The First English Life of King Henry V, ed. C.L. Kingsford (Oxford 1911).

could identify themselves with the attitude of their subject. But they could not feel the spontaneous enthusiasm, make the unquestioning assumptions, of a native author.

Aemilius settled in France as a young man and became attached to it.¹ But in so far as he felt any national loyalties (and they appear not to have been strong) they remained always Italian. Moreover, here as in many cases, his use of Biondo was influential. Biondo was not an impartial writer. He had a number of prejudices and even crochets of his own, and he adopted from Villani an anti-French tone which in parts becomes very marked. But in general terms he had a European rather than a national outlook, and to some extent this has penetrated into Aemilius. Finally, Aemilius was a man of letters, not (so far as we know) concerned with politics, and therefore able to attain scholarly detachment with less effort. In the Dedication of Gallica Antiquitas to Charles VIII he speaks of wishing to have the whole world as his fatherland.²

He omits the early Frankish victories over the Romans which Gaguin had copied from the Great Chronicles, and in fact rather stresses Roman successes until the general break up of the Empire. He is much more cautious in his claims for

1 ³, F.IIV.R (Poem to Paris: "Verona matre adamata magis...").

2 Ibid. F. VI.V.

the success of Childebert's Spanish and Italian expeditions,¹ and more outspokenly critical of the general behaviour of the Merovingian kings. "Thus it was at home" he says, after relating the murder of the grandsons of Clovis; "nor was it more pious abroad", and he adds that all these things were "examples of tragic crime".²

This is not to say that the De Rebus Gestis, like the Compendium, is not generally speaking on the French side. Aemilius was writing officially, and thus even more bound than Gaguin (who only in a vague way hoped to give pleasure in official circles) to adopt the approved line. Indeed, considering his position, it is creditable to his courage to have produced something so little orthodox, and to the magnanimity of the authorities to have accepted the work as it stood. He never abandons his right to criticise; and above all the De Rebus Gestis entirely lacks the assumption underlying the Compendium that the French were invariably in the right on every occasion.

With regard to ecclesiastical prejudice, there is little contrast between the two men, and where they differ it is on national rather than ecclesiastical grounds. Gaguin is much more hostile to Boniface VIII, both in his treatment of the

1 F. XVI.V.

2 F. X.V.

whole episode and the summary of his character.¹ Aemilius, following Villani, though showing little sympathy for him personally, is very bitter against his persecutors, and includes his taunt to Nogaret about his Albigensian ancestry which even Biondo omits.² Gaguin is markedly Clementine on the origin of the Schism; Aemilius is as Urbanist as he could dare to be in his position.

Gaguin has no sympathy at all for any non-Christians, heretics or even the unorthodox, though he is at times anti-papal from the Gallican point of view. He is an enthusiastic partisan of the Pragmatic Sanction,³ and puts the worst construction on the motives of the Popes, who "have execrated it as nothing less than the most pernicious heresy". "For the ancient controversy between the universal Council and the Roman pontiffs as to which is greater still persists among churchmen. Whence it arises, in my opinion, that the pontiffs avoid summoning General Councils, fearing that their so extensive (not to say usurped) authority may be restricted by the decrees of the Council. Accordingly such today is their sublimity and extent that setting little store by kings they boast that everything is permissible to them. Nor did any one reach the pontificate in my lifetime

1 F. LXVIII. v. 6.

2 F. CLXXIV. R.

3 ff. CXXV. R - CXXVI. R.

who when he had obtained the dignity did not at once bestow great wealth and dominion on his nephews."

Aemilius, equally orthodox in general, can however at times be tartly cynical over the motives and methods of the measures taken against heresy. In paying tribute to the qualities of Clement IV, he stipulates that he is not referring to his military successes, "which ¹ do not admire in religious authority". ¹ He puts an eloquent plea against the Second Albigensian Crusade into the mouth of the Count of Toulouse, arguing that though the words "pious" and "holy" were still on every one's lips, the issues in fact at stake were now purely those of selfish interests. ² That this was no rhetorical flourish, representing one side of ~~the~~ the case, but substantially ~~exp~~ his own view, is shown by his energetic comment on the Crusade preached against Manfred (no favourite of his): "The name of the Holy War, alas! descending to this", ³ and the similar language on the fall of Acre: "This might be counted the end of the Holy War. The name to be sure remained; but the sword was drawn in other wars", ⁴ and the reflection which he puts into the mouth of Clement IV: "While we draw our swords publicly

1 F. CLIIII.R.

2 F. CXXXVI.R.

3 F. CL.V.

4 F. CLXVIII.V.

against one another, and each calls his the Holy War and his enemies impious, the relics of our name perished in Syria."¹

In dealing with the Eastern Empire, both Gaguin and Aemilius pass the usual remarks on Greek effeminacy, vice and ill faith. But Aemilius (if the comment is his and not Zavarizzi's) after relating the fall of Constantinople at some length, speaks in reverent and moving terms of its 1,390 years' record of piety and learning, and concludes: "And it only perished through our desertion."² The broad-mindedness of such a view can be appreciated by comparing it with that of Antoninus of Florence only half a century earlier, for whom the fall of Constantinople is simply the just judgment of God for its rebellion against Rome, and who takes this occasion to analyse its twelve successive heresies in three Folios of double columns and close print,³ exactly as he had earlier employed the same argument and invective to justify the Fourth Crusade.⁴

Both Gaguin and Aemilius also accepted the ordinary conventions of their age as to the structure of society. Gaguin has one not wholly typical passage favourable to the

1 F. CLIIII.R.

2 F. CCXXII.V.

3 *Chronica*, Pt. ^{III} 6, Tit. ²² ~~xxii~~, chap.XIII (Lyon 1543),
ff. CXLVII.V-CL.V.

4 Ibid. Tit. 19, chap. II; F. XXX.R.

~~Rowland~~ Flemings at Courtrai¹. But this seems to be either to palliate the defeat of the French chivalry at the hands of so ignoble enemies, or an echo of the classical republicanism which the late-mediaeval scholars sometimes contrived to blend with their ideal of feudal independence.

Indeed, though both Gaguin and Aemilius were monarchists, at least in overt theory, Gaguin, especially when copying early sources closely, is willing to criticise kings from the old-fashioned ecclesiastical angle of their relation to the Church. A narrower clique loyalty also makes him give a very one-sided account of the quarrel between Louis XII and the University of Paris². In general in the contemporary period, though his tone is elsewhere discreet, he reveals himself as one of the XVth century constitutionalists who aimed at bridling the alarming growth of absolutism by some balance between king, aristocracy and middle class. The despotism of Louis XI was supremely repugnant to him; and if we are to judge from the uncharacteristic vitriolic~~en~~ passion of his poem on the downfall of Olivier le Daim³, he was not far removed in sympathy from the feudal reaction which hoped to seize

1. F. LXVIII.R.

2. Ff. CLXV.V-CLXVI.R.

3. F. CLXI.V: "Regnasti, satis est. Surgunt nova sidera mundo..."

power in the early years of Charles VIII: "New stars rise on the world..."

Aemilius, a younger man, a native of Italy (where there was no tradition of feudal constitutionalism), and above all a literary adventurer dependant on royal patronage, shows a more whole-hearted acceptance of the New Monarchy. But in their general notions of society and the state, requiring the combination of subordination with "good governance", they were very much alike, and both were entirely traditional.

Gaguin seldom attempts anything beyond mediaeval platitudes on the vices and misfortunes of rulers, treating the subject almost entirely from an individual and moral standpoint. Aemilius' one prolonged passage on political science, apparently attributed to Charles IV but presumably his own, deals with two aspects which were already common-places in the Middle Ages: the establishment of kings and their endowment with power because laws by themselves are not enough to coerce evil-doers; and the need to make striking examples of powerful criminals in order to deter the lesser.¹

But other historical documents are not a historian's only sources, and if he is a contemporary historian he

1 F. CLXXII.R.

will virtually have none of them. He is then driven to make use of such contemporary writings as may be available, and fill up with what he himself has seen or heard. If he is conscientious and careful, he will treat this material very much as he would records of the past. But at the same time it presents special problems of its own; for it comes to him direct and undigested, so that he starts from the beginning, neither assisted by the winnowing process of the passage of time nor misled by the corruptions which it may have introduced.

On this point it is obvious that there can be no comparison between Gaguin and Aemilius, for Aemilius' own completed work ends in 1388, and even Zavarizzi's assemblage of his notes only reaches the beginning of the reign of Charles VIII, before the arrival of Aemilius in France. Even not counting documents, there was abundance of ordinary narrative sources for him to draw on down to this period, so that he was never called upon to employ the peculiar technique of the contemporary historian. But a brief analysis of the contemporary part of the Compendium (Book 11, added in D) is relevant to the general estimate of Gaguin's historical aptitudes.

It contains in all 9 Folios, 4½ being devoted to each reign.. This covers the 15 years of the reign of Charles VIII

and the first 2 of that of Louis XII. It may be observed that both Charles VI (who reigned 42 years) and Charles VII (who reigned 39) were allotted $16\frac{1}{2}$ Folios, and Louis XI (who reigned 22) $13\frac{1}{2}$.

Charles VIII. Reflections on his fate. His ~~disposition~~ disposition, early education, coronation and reforms. The vengeance taken on the favourites of Louis XI ($\frac{1}{2}$ p.). Gaguin's poem on the fate of le Daim ($\frac{3}{4}$ p.). The Crazy War. War with Maximilian over Burgundy and Artois. War in Brittany and Henry VII's ungrateful assistance of the rebels. His preference for peace if he had not been coerced by his people. Loss of Arras to Maximilian ($\frac{1}{2}$ p.). Rapine of the German soldiery. Hatred of the citizens towards the French. Peace patched up with Maximilian. Marriage of Charles VIII. Restitution of Roussillon ($\frac{1}{2}$ p.). The Italian expedition (2 pp.). Reform and death of Charles VIII ($\frac{1}{2}$ p.). His funeral (3 pp.). Poems by Gaguin and Faustus Andrelinus ($\frac{3}{4}$ p.).

Louis XII. His accession, divorce and re-marriage. War with Maximilian in Burgundy. Embassy from Venice. Reforms of Louis XII ~~and his~~ ($\frac{1}{2}$ p.). His consequent quarrel with the University (2 pp.). Homage of Philip of Austria for flanders and Artois. Maximilian's war with the Swiss. The Milanese expedition. The Orléans claim to Milan ($1\frac{1}{2}$ pp.). Invective against the Italians ($\frac{3}{4}$ p.). Conclusion

of the expedition (1 p.). Natural phenomena. Reform of the Norman Exchequer. Birth of Claude of France ($\frac{1}{2}$ p.). Fall of the Pont Neuf (1+ p.). Gaguin's poem on it ($\frac{1}{2}$ p.). Organisation of Milan. Reconciliation of the dukes of Gueldres and Juliers. Sentence on those responsible for the fall of the Pont Neuf. Peroration (1 p.).

It will be observed from this ~~xx~~ that the matter of historical importance and interest is comprised in $3\frac{1}{2}$ pages out of 9 for the reign of Charles VIII, in $4\frac{1}{2}$ out of 9 for that of Louis XII, or slightly less than half of the ~~w~~ whole. Such disproportion ~~x~~ in the allocation of space, especially where the total is so small, suggests that Gaguin's capacity for handling direct material was not great. When dealing with the books of others he had demonstrated that he knew how to pick out the relevant points and arrange them in some degree reasonably. But when confronted by the undifferentiated mass of events happening around him, without other guidance than his own historical sense as to the relative importance of each, he becomes very much the mediaeval annalist, jotting down a campaign, a famine, a civic incident, impartially side by side.

His treatment of the various topics may be deduced from this arrangement. The important matters (the Crazy War

and the annexation of Brittany, the campaigns against Maximilian, the Italian expeditions, the administration of Charles VIII and Louis XII) are dismissed with a curt breathlessness which leaves no space for any explanation of causes and effects and therefore reduces both clarity and interest, while Gaguin reserves his space for detailed accounts of the funeral of Charles VIII,¹ the fall of the Pont Neuf,² and the quarrel between Louis XII and the University.³

Two qualifications must however be made here. In the first place, ~~as has already been mentioned~~, Gaguin wrote *in the last year of his life when his health was already failing.* this last Book in unfavourable circumstances,[^] Secondly, contemporary history, though it forms so large a part of the material for future historians, is generally regarded as not in itself history in so strict a sense as the reconstruction of the remote past.

But in regard to the first point, although illness would certainly have hampered the execution of the work, one would not, in the case of a true historian, have expected it to influence the ~~ex~~ conception. And in regard to the second, contemporary history, though (as has already been said)

1 Ff. CLXIII.R-CLXIII.V.

2 Ff. CLXVIII.V-CLXIX.R.

3 Ff. CLXV.V-CLXVI.R.

presenting its own peculiar problems, basically demands the same qualities of penetration, judgment and exactitude as history of the past. The extent to which Gaguin reveals himself as falling short of these in this last Book detracts ~~xxxx~~ considerably ~~xxxx~~ from the status as a historian conferred by some of his treatment of his earlier material.

This failure or indifference as to arrangement and proportion may be another indication of Gaguin's essentially mediaeval approach when he was writing as came naturally to him in regard to contemporary affairs and was less obsessed by the conception of the dignity of history. Arrangement and proportion were the aspect of their programme which the Humanists achieved most easily. They were not really equipped with the exact scholarship necessary to make a work trustworthy, and they did not rate the importance of this very high. But to sort out their facts, to allot the position and space appropriate to each, to marshal all into a harmonious whole, was a task to which they were well adapted by the general culture of their minds, which they enjoyed and (in accordance with their classical models) regarded as eminently worth doing; and within the limitations of their conception of history they seldom fail to do it well.

Gaguin certainly set out with this in mind. But, as in the case of the other Humanist canons, his execution was

half-hearted. Here moreover he had made things more difficult for himself by the initial error of the excessive conciseness of the Compendium. Not that this in itself was a defect; the dictum of Erasmus in his Prefatory Letter that "brevity, as it is rare in historians,¹ so is it most acceptable to the readers"² is not likely to be quarrelled with by any one.³ The Great Chronicles were inordinately long, and there clearly was a case for a volume which would convey their substance in more accessible form. But compression so drastic inevitably gave the resultant work very much the character of a potted textbook; and this, to be done properly, demands a degree of judgment in the choice of materials which Gaguin did not possess.

Something has already been said as to his inadequate causation. That this was due fundamentally to inherent incapacity may be assumed from its general prevalence; but it was almost certainly exaggerated by the form which Gaguin imposed upon himself. He could include only a very small proportion of his original; and what he chose to omit was to a large extent the explanations of how things came

1 Or "in histories". Historiis is the reading of the three first eds. Historicis, the emendation of D, while stylistically more elegant, is not necessitated by the sense.

2 F. n.c. at end (sig. F.iii). R.

3 And perhaps by University examiners least of all.

about, which in the Great Chronicles, though never profound and probably often untrue, do at least, by virtue simply of the fulness of the narrative, link events together with some degree of intelligibility.

In Gaguin's truncated version the events are set down in succession, without transition or pause, and seldom with any indication of ~~of~~ their wider causes and results or possible relation with one another, except very occasionally, and then usually in a strange, arbitrary and even more deceptive way. They thus ~~xxxxxx~~ not only lose much of their interest, but sometimes become difficult or even impossible to understand.¹ In the Preface to D Gaguin pours scorn on those who had criticised the Compendium as obscure. But even readers who do not normally "require a commentary by way of torches to illuminate the difficulty of every slightly unusual word"² might be excused for a slight feeling of bewilderment when Gaguin compresses a whole chapter of the Religieux de Saint-Denis⁴ (on the kidnapping of the duke of Brittany by Olivier de Penthievre) into a single sentence and abandons it unattached in the middle of

1 Ff. XVII.R (the "walking wood" at Droisy), XVII.V (rivalry of Prothadius and Berthoaldus).

2 F. I.R.

other matter;¹ he would have done better to omit the episode altogether if he did not consider it deserving of fuller treatment than this.

By narrowing his scope in this way, Gaguin has implicitly bound himself to include only what is important; and this indeed he specifically claims in the Preface to D. Thus, though his real irrelevances are not very many or very great, they constitute blemishes in a way which they would not in a slightly more diffuse work. Aemilius², like Gaguin³, includes the story of Childeric and the divided token; but though it would have been more to the credit of his historical taste to have omitted it altogether, it sinks inconspicuously into the greater wealth of detail of the De Rebus Gestis, whereas in the Compendium the space allotted to it conveys the impression (probably false, & in view of Gaguin's general seriousness) that it is regarded as an event of major importance. The same is true of the other trifling matter which Gaguin has preserved from his sources. Much of this, as in the similar case of the supernatural, is additional to D, which renders it even more damning to Gaguin's judgment, as representing not mechanical first copying but the presumably deliberate

1 F. CXIIII.R.

2 F. IIII.V.

3 F. IIII.R,V.

choice of second thoughts.

As might be expected, Aemilius has in general a marked superiority here. He might well have omitted, on grounds of dignity if not of credibility (he does not commit himself to belief) the fall of the wall of Meleun while King Robert prayed,¹ the fate of the wicked count of Châlons², and the dream of Charles of Bohemia;³ and he has adopted some unnecessary details from the discursive Villani. But even these do not appear excessively out of place in a work of the length and dramatic character of the De Rebus Gestis.

But Aemilius commits one major error in this respect, which though rather different in its nature is perhaps ~~even~~ greater and certainly more pervasive than any of Gaguin's lapses on points of detail. It has been observed that the fact of his being a foreigner freed him from national prejudice; but it also involved a disadvantage. He was clearly interested in his work as a piece of history, perhaps more so than Gaguin; but in the history of France as such he could not have Gaguin's warm personal interest. Also, brought up on Italian historiography, he must have

1 F. LXV.R.

2 F. CXII.R.

3 F. CLXXXVII.R.

found the French sources discouragingly crude and unsatisfying. Consequently he has throughout introduced too much matter about other countries, especially Italy. French writers have accused him of pro-Italian prejudice.¹ This is unfounded; in general he treats all countries with a laudable impartiality. And though there is no denying the charge of an interest in Italy excessive in a French historian, it is not only Italian but other European and Eastern affairs which he continually introduces.

He cannot be judged by his last Book, not set in final shape by himself, especially on a point of arrangement and proportion like this, and Zavarizzi would naturally have been even less concerned with France than he was himself. But he must have left very inadequate notes about France for the whole of the crucial XVth century; for in Zavarizzi's version the main events are hustled out of the way with the scantest measure, and the rest is devoted to Sicily, Italy in general, the Papacy, Schisms and Councils, Hungary and the East.

This is not to say that what he relates is not interesting; and it ^{might} ~~not~~ be argued that French history is

1 Beaucaire in the Preface to his History of France, cited by Zelong (Bibliothèque historique, p. 380): "Italarum Buccinatorem potiusquam Gallicae Historiae Scriptorem".

is better understood in the light of a more general background. But Aemilius was not writing a universal history like the mediaeval chroniclers, nor even a history of Europe like Biondo. He proposed to write the history of France; and the relevance to that of most of the foreign affairs which he includes is very slender indeed. Here also the same criticism applies to him as to Gaguin. The De Rebus Gestis is a longer book than the Compendium; but it is not long enough for so much outside matter to fall into place as background or illustrative digressions.

The probability is that he was led into some of this by the temptation to draw on the convenient Biondo, from whom a large part of it is derived. But that this was not the only reason is proved by the fact that Biondo was not responsible for the most exaggerated example of this tendency. The whole of Book 4 and part of Book 5 (that is, more than a tenth of the whole book extending c. 400-1500) are devoted to the First Crusade and the establishment of the Latin Kingdom. Biondo, though he also was interested in the East, did not provide much of this. Aemilius has gone back to William of Tyre and the other historians of the Crusades. The later Crusades are given briefer but still ample measure, and the history of the Near East is followed until the fall of the Latin Kingdom, at times down even to

unimportant detail. All this is excellent clear narrative, which could hardly be improved if Aemilius had been writing a history of the Latin Kingdom; but its connection with the history of France properly speaking is ~~was~~ too remote to justify its inclusion at this length.

All this strikes a modern critic as a serious misjudgment on Aemilius' part; and we~~h~~ would have expected it to be so regarded by Aemilius himself and the other Humanists, even by their own standards of proportion. The strictly classical historians had tended to confine ~~th~~ themselves to the unit of place or time ~~as~~ which they had chosen; and the Humanists on the whole followed them in this as in other respects, showing a marked preference for writing the history of some city or great house rather than of a subject of wider scope.

Yet, rather surprisingly, criticism does not seem to have attached itself to Aemilius in this respect. He himself makes no apology for it anywhere in the De Rebus Gestis, though in Francie Antiquitas he had felt impelled to explain the necessity for his much briefer digressions on the origins of the Visigoths and Lombards.¹ Humanist critics (except de Girard,² whose objection was on grounds

1 β^1 , ff. XIII.V, XXI.V.

2 v. p. 222,

of nationalⁿ politics, not historical theory) did not take exception to it, and in fact Jovius singles out this very point for special commendation.¹ Humanist theory presumably found some unexplained loophole justifying this divergence. But in our eyes it cannot be regarded as other than a regrettable blemish on one of the most successful and attractive aspects of Aemilius' work.

(ii) This question of proportion has to a large extent anticipated treatment of the style of Gaguin and Aemilius. By the austere canons of modern scholarship, this proportion and harmony in the choice and arrangement of material is virtually the only stylistic ambition open to the historian. So far as our judgment goes, then, the preceding section says all that can validly be said as to the relative aesthetic merits and defects ~~of~~ of the Compendium and the De Rebus Gestis.

But in the XVth^{and XVIth} centuries this was by no means the whole story. In the eyes of the Humanists at least, proportion was undoubtedly one of the most important, perhaps the most important, of the requisites of aesthetic excellence. But it was not the only one, nor exclusive to

1 Elogia Doctorum Virorum (Basel 1571), p. 282: "In sacri belli enarratione...aliquanto luculentius ita se diffudit, ut medium iter...tenuisse existimetur."

history; it might and should be shared by the dry scientific treatises which the Humanist regarded as an inferior form of composition. To him his history was also (to the rhetorician indeed primarily) a work of literature, and as such must be judged by its qualities of narrative and style.

From this point of view both Gaguin and Aemilius were ill-judging and unfortunate in the form which they chose. A general history does not really lend itself to narrative excellence. The Great Chronicles had contrived to be interesting as a story; but they are so lengthy that they are in fact a compilation of detailed vivid contemporary accounts. Nicole Gilles and to a lesser degree Pouchet retained this readability at the cost of introducing much trifling anecdotal matter. Gaguin and Aemilius were too serious-minded to take this way. They have very rightly refused to sacrifice good sense and scholarly accuracy to any such meretricious attraction; but they have to pay a price in the diminution of narrative interest and charm. At the length and in the style that they conceived their books, the narrative of no one episode or period could be leisurely enough to give a completed picture of it. When Erasmus says that the liveliness of the narrative of the Compendium is such that the events seem to take place, not to be related,¹ and Cornelius

1 F.n.c. at end (sig. F.iii). R.

Gerard that Gaguin sets "everything before our eyes in such a way that I feel myself not to be reading history but to be present in the ranks of battle"¹, they were indulging in a mere rhetorical and adulatory flourish.

If either Gaguin or Aemilius had been true rhetoricians, in whom the literary purpose predominated over the scientific, they would have done better not to attempt anything so wide in scope and distant in time, but to turn to the contemporary history which opened a real field for dramatic narrative, vitalised by the occasional touches of personal contact with the author which we find in the pages of Froissart and Commines. Aemilius of course could have nothing of this, in its full form, as he does not come down to his own period. Gaguin only once sketches a scene for us from personal knowledge, when he describes Louis XII dismissing the delegates from the University with a discourteous message to their contumacious colleagues, and exclaiming as he taps his chest: "They have abused me in their sermons; but I will send them to preach elsewhere."²

1 Ibid. V. This seems to be an echo of Horace (Carmina, 2, I, 18-21:

Iam litui strepunt;
Iam fulgor armorum fugaces
Terret equos equitumque vultus.
Audire magnos videor duces..."

2 F. CLXVI.R.

As serious and ambitious Humanists, both would have probably considered this form hardly worth their attention. Their aim was something more expansive and more original. For Gaguin it was to lead readers by the right path to "the ultimate goal of history",¹ for Aemilius to "institute their history for the French".² And indeed, had they been only a ~~xxxx~~ little better equipped than they were for the project, it might be argued that they were right. There was little left to be done in the memorialist style, in which others had laboured so fruitfully since the beginning of the century; but no one had yet produced a Humanist rationalisation of the inchoate mass of national records. At any rate, the choice affords further evidence that both Gaguin and Aemilius, Humanist though their aspirations were, put their interest in history as history first, and regarded rhetorical excellence as a secondary consideration, to be sacrificed if necessary.

To us Gaguin's complete freedom from the rhetorical seems to improve his book not merely as a serious work of scholarship but even from the point of view of literary taste, and in this respect he strikes us as superior to Aemilius, who repeatedly holds up his narrative by prolonged

1 Dedication of first ed. to Pierre Burry: A¹, F. n.c. i.V.

2 Epigram on himself in Gallica Antiquitas (α³, F. LV.R):
"Gallis condimus historias."

speeches which add nothing to our comprehension of the historical situation, nor even (it would appear to us) to the interest of the story. The only place where Gaguin quotes speeches verbatim is the delegation from the University to Louis XII; and this, which occurs in the contemporary Book 11, is more in accordance with the mediaeval practice of including documents than with Humanist rhetoric, for Gaguin was present himself, and what he gives us seems to be the gist of what in fact was said, not what might or should have been said on such an occasion.

Apart from this one negative merit, there is not much to be said in favour of Gaguin's narrative. As in so much that he attempted, he has fallen between the Humanist style ^{at} which he ~~xxxxxxxx~~ aimed and the mediaeval style which came naturally to him. He has abandoned the annalistic framework associated with the mediaeval chroniclers, thus sacrificing clarity and precision of dating. The divisions are replaced (chiefly in the editions subsequent to A) by a few dates scattered throughout the text; but these are too widely spaced to enable the reader to keep any track of the distribution of the years in the intervening period. On the other hand, he has preserved almost unchanged the chroniclers' purely consecutive arrangement of events, with its clumsy mechanical links: "And the following year...", "And after this..." There are a very few instances of his completing

one episode before beginning another. He ends his account of the Council of Lyon in 1245 by mentioning the death of Innocent IV in Naples in 1254,¹ and speaks of the ultimate pacification of the Saxons after thirty years before reverting to events contemporary with the campaigns.² But in Gaguin's compressed wording even these exceptions are apt simply to confuse the chronology. Thus under a superficial air of continuous narrative, in practice Gaguin hardly rises above the chroniclers' graceless composition and style.

In this, as in the case of proportion, Aemilius was to some extent served by the greater length of his book. His narrative thereby becomes rather less curt and scamped. He is able without discord to pause a moment on major events, to dwell on their implications and accumulate a few descriptive details; and in passages where elaboration is not requisite or appropriate his narrative is usually clear, well-proportioned and interesting. He also had a more genuine familiarity with his classical models, and could make use of whatever might be derived from Livy or Sallust. But in this is no more than to say that he had achieved a good workmanlike instrument such as a modern historian might aim at, in place of Gaguin's bald staccato, not the accomplished elegance which was the Humanist ideal.

1 F. IX.V.

2 F. XXVI.V.

With regard to literary style, whereas the Humanists would undoubtedly (and from their point of view rightly) have claimed the superiority of Aemilius' language, modern preference would be for Gaguin. His Latin is adequate and his grammar correct, except possibly in two cases which are evidently not as he intended to leave them. The "regem ut Carnotum proficiscatur impetrat"^{of A¹} has for some reason been changed in the subsequent editions to ^{the doubtful} "regem Carnotum proficisci"; and something has gone wrong with the verb referring to the treachery of Raymond of Antioch,² but this passage is probably corrupt.³ Gaguin never employs new-coined words except explicitly in the vernacular form.⁴ For the rest, a straightforward simple language which conveys what it means without distracting embroideries is all that we now demand from a historical treatise.

Aemilius, as became a rhetorician (though a very moderate one) is rather more ambitious. His Latin is excellent, accurate and polished without being over-ornate, and giving the impression of easy command; and in the orations, where the more finished language is appropriate, it is extremely

1 F. LXXXV.R (misprinted LXXXIX in text).

2 F. XLIX.V.

3 F. V.pp. 91-2.

4 F. CXXX.V: "Quod bassam curtem Franci dicunt."

pleasing. It had everything to recommend it to a Humanist audience, and it in no way outrages modern taste; only the modern critic feels that the extra time spent by Aemilius in composing and the reader in understanding this more elaborate medium is needless and out of place in a historical treatise,

But when we move from mere correctness of diction to style in a wider sense, the comparison goes the other way. Here also, as in his narrative, Gaguin is hampered by the extreme compression which he has imposed on himself. It is true that a liberal allowance of space has its own perils, and may lure an author into prolixity; but too narrow a compass is almost certain to compel a graceless baldness of expression. Gaguin writes intelligibly, but in a manner incapable of conferring the least pleasure on the reader. Such a criticism would be ~~a~~ irrelevant if he had been writing either a mediaeval epitome or a modern text-book, where style is not the object. But his purpose was a literary Humanist history; and his failure here is another example of the frustration consequent on his divided attitude.

It is on this point of style, if anywhere, that we would expect rhetorical preoccupations to appear: yet they are scarcely perceptible even here. His classical learning, though sound, was perhaps not very extensive. He himself¹ apologises for his deficiencies and expresses regret that

1 Eps. XL^o, LXXI; Epistole, Vol. I, p. 326 and vol. II, pp. 1-4.

he had not had more opportunities in youth.¹ But a good deal of this is pro forma self-depreciation, for the letters show familiarity with classical style and contain quotations which although from a limited range of authors² are not among their most hackneyed passages. In the Compendium however his only classical reminiscence is a variant of the tag familiar throughout the Middle Ages: "Fati sicut est mortale hominum genus improvidus (sic)".³

On the other hand, he follows a common procedure among XVth century vernacular historians by inserting proverbs and phrases out of common speech: "The dog is called mad when the master of the house has decided to have it destroyed";⁴ "The service of a prince is not heritable property".⁵ When this is employed by a writer with a sense of style like Chastellain or Brantôme, the effect can be at once natural, lively and pleasing. It is another example of Gaguin's perhaps involuntary lapses into late-mediaeval methods; a thorough-going Humanist would have regarded it as below the dignity

1 Ibid.

2 Virgil, Horace, Seneca, Sallust, Juvenal, Ovid, Terence.

3 F. CVIII.V.

4 F. CX.V.

5 F. CXIV.R. The vernacular form of this occurs in the Jouvencel.

of historic style. But Gaguin as usual falters between the two methods. He had to translate the phrases, and with his Humanist aspirations it had to be into classical Latin; he could not use the popular Latin of a late-mediaeval writer like Jean de Venette, whose language, incorrect and barbarous as it is, has the vigour of living speech and could absorb them naturally. In Gaguin's stiff pedantic rendering they not only lose their robust racy personality but form a discord with the surrounding text. The same is true of the few scraps of direct speech which he introduces. Their purpose is to enable us to hear the voice of the speaker: this has evaporated in Gaguin's hands, and neither charm nor verisimilitude is gained.

Aemilius on the contrary knows only one style, and he sustains it throughout consistently and with success. This doubtless came partly from his being a Humanist without any reservations, as Gaguin was not. But he also seems to have been a person of natural good taste, and of a taste which became matured and purified by experience, study and application. The early works surviving only in MS., especially Gallica Antiquitates, are much more marred by diffuseness and rhetoric than the completed De Rebus Gestis with its classic grace and dignity of composition and style. He had by then mastered his medium so completely that he did not need to draw attention to its origin. Unlike the mediaeval authors

who know a few tags and reproduced them page after page, or even a late-mediaeval Humanist like Basin, who never allows us to forget his acquaintance with the classical stylists, Aemilius is very sparing in introducing anything beyond the most general turns of phrase which in their appropriateness to some given subject might have been used by any of the approved authors. He quotes the "Africa enim semper aliquid novi pariebat" of Lucan as though it had become a common saying.¹ Of indirect echoes only three are obvious: ~~et~~

"Magnificus triumphus, ac te dignus est, multitudinem insontem, cui fortuna belli ac numen pepercit, tibi supplicare";² "Nec flebilius ulli quam sibi miserum optimorum virorum exitium";³ "Se ab Italia deterreri, quod Caesarum in Italiam vestigia, laeta, magnifica, plenaque bonae spei videret; ex Italia vero referentia, et foras versa, tristia, misera, luctuosa."⁴

1 F. XLIX.R.

2 F. VI.V. Ennius (Annales):
Quorum virtuti belli fortuna pepercit
eorundem libertati me parcere certumst.

3 F. LXXX.R. Horace (Carmina, 1, XXIV, 9-10):
Multis ille bonis flebilis occidit:
Nulli flebilius, quam tibi, Virgili.

4 F. CLVII.R. Horace (Epistolae, 1, 1, 74-5):
Quia me vestigia terrant,
Omnia te adversum spectantia, nulla retrorsum.
 Cf. also the "foras versa" of Livy (Pk. 1, chap. 7) for the footprints of the cattle of Hercules stolen by Cacus.

A classical scholar would probably detect others, and there are many more in the MSS. The Prologue to the De Rebus Gestis owes something to Cicero and the Introduction to Sallust's Catiline. But instances like this are of assimilation rather than borrowing. Aemilius had reached the point of effortless familiarity when the preparatory labour and ~~art~~ are concealed and forgotten.

This complete freedom from any sense of either discord or strain makes the impression of harmony underlying the Prologue ~~of~~ of the De Rebus Gestis extend also to the book as a whole, though to a lesser degree owing to its greater length. It is difficult to define exactly in what it consists, especially when we remember the jarring insertion on the First Crusade. But just as in the Compendium we are constantly aware of a sense of discord, of stress between purpose and achievement, theory and instinct, so the De Rebus Gestis gives an impression of wholeness, of unity between the conception and the execution, the man, his ideas and his book.

(iii) The didactic purpose was in a sense the least positive of the elements of the Humanist programme, the most influenced by the individuality of the author rather than the theory of the school. In this therefore the difference between Gaguin and the Humanists appears less sharply than in the others, though it remains perceptible. Neither his own

scholarly and literary attainments nor the general standard of culture and taste by the end of the XVth century allowed the endless theological and moral sermons which fill mediaeval histories. But he belonged to a tradition of preaching and instruction, and the habit of edification was strong. While he probably conceived himself as giving advice as a Humanist, the voice of the religious teacher is constantly audible.

His pieces of purely practical counsel, individual or political, are very few, usually very brief, and often very obvious. "In this way composed and constant valour sometimes defeats boastful and foolish rashness"¹ is a fair ~~example~~ ^{ex}ample of their profundity. The overwhelming mass of these ~~1~~ incidental observations are pious and moral. Sometimes the two are combined, and a moral maxim is given force by representation of the practical consequences likely to arise from ignoring or conforming to it: "Penalties sometimes seize the sacrilegious, and God heavily revenges the injuries done to Him."² Also, despite the enlightened piety of his letter to William Hermann, there are the usual comments on the instability of Fortune, as where he contrasts the varying fates of Henry VI and Charles VII³ or moralises on the death

1 F. CXVI.R.

2 F.VII.V.

3 Ff. CXV.R, CXXXVIII.V.

of Charles VIII.

Aemilius seems to have taken very little interest in this kind of teaching. After all he said in the Prologue on the value of history as a guide, he leaves the reader very much to draw his own conclusions from the story. He has a few practical observations and vague and perfunctory moral comments, and some brief passages on Fortune and the Deity and similar topics of reflection, such as the exhortation of Louis VI to his son to rule better than he had², and the regrets of Clement IV on the decay of Christian piety, not to be revived by "any other customs than those by which it was born"³. Even the orations, which might easily have been made the vehicle for counsel or edification, on the whole when not pure rhetorical exercises are kept fairly strictly to the classical purpose of setting out the two sides of a case and revealing the attitude and state of mind of the protagonists.

These incidental reflections, now banished from strict history, were still regarded as an integral part of it by both mediaevalists and Humanists. But it need hardly be pointed out how empty and worthless they are in general. There is nothing here to illuminate either history or life; and it is difficult not to get the impression that there was not really intended to be. It was felt necessary to include

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1 F. CLXI.R.
2 F. CV.V.
3 F. CLIII.R.

them, because it was part of the style. But there is no reason to suppose that the ordinary historian or man of letters would have any profound comments to make. A trained practical politician like Villani or Communes might have something to say on politics, though even Communes talks more of morals, and does so in a highly traditional way; anything else was likely to be more ethical or prudential commonplace. At the end of the XVth century thinkers, whether mediaeval or Humanist in character, still thought very much along established conventional lines.

It is difficult for us, to whom originality has become one of the first requisites in almost any intellectual pursuit, to realise our full difference from the Middle Ages in this respect. To copy from earlier (and therefore it was assumed superior) sources was for the mediaeval author not merely a habit taken for granted; it was a cause for pride. My poor talents may be inadequate for the task I have set myself, he says repeatedly, but at least "I have added nothing of my own"; and he proudly lists the sources from which he has compiled it, or speaks in vague impressive tones of "authorities worthy of respect".

An unexpected and therefore all the more striking example shows how much these reflections were regarded as the current coin of literature, even so late as the beginning of

the XVth century. Commines is generally regarded as an early Renaissance figure, the hard-headed man of affairs with an independent mind, judging things empirically and somewhat cynically as they arose and as they struck his individual perceptions. This is not the place to discuss the truth of this estimate. But two instances at least may be given of his having drawn directly on the common stock of moral reflections of the Middle Ages.

In a well-known passage (sometimes quoted as showing his originality of thought) on the limitations set by nature to even the greatest power, he employs the terse and picturesque expression that God has given to every one, even the greatest, a "goad" (aquillon) to keep them in fear and humility.¹ But among the proverbial phrases with which Gaguin concludes each verse of the Passe-Temps d'Oysiveté (1489) there occurs: "Chascun a chose qui le myre",² and a little further on: "Il n'est homme qui n'ait sa pique";³ and the context is one of very similar reflections. Quite apart

1 Mémoires, Bk. 4, chap. XVIII, ed. Calmette (Les Classiques de l'Histoire de France au Moyen Âge, 3 vols. Paris 1924-5), vol. II, p. 208.

2 V. 322; Epistole, vol. II, p. 331.

3 V. 343; ibid. vol. II, p. 382.

from the fact that dating makes it unlikely that either Commynes copied Gaguin or Gaguin Commynes, Gaguin was following an established late-mediaeval convention,¹ and there can be no question that these tags were traditional and not his own.

Again, in describing having himself seen the Lancastrian exiles in destitution and wretchedness at the court of Burgundy, and recalling how their fathers had oppressed France for many years, Commynes comments that this example among many others makes it clear "that of these wicked princes and others holding the places of authority in the world, and who use them cruelly and tyrannically, none or few remain unpunished. But it is not always on an appointed day, or at the hour when the sufferers desire it".² In another place he observes: "God gives the prince according as He wishes to punish or correct the subjects, and to the prince He gives the subjects and their dispositions towards him according as He wishes to raise or lower him."³

With these two passages may be compared that of Villani:

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- 1 Cf. the poems quoted by Chartier as exchanged between the English and French at the siege of Pontoise: *Chronique*, chap. CLII; vol. , pp. -
 - 2 *Memoires*, Bk. 3, chap. IV; vol. I, p. 192.
 - 3 *Ibid.* Bk. 5, chap. IX; vol. II, pp. 155-6.

"But God reserves Himself and leaves no evil unpunished, though it may not be at the times and pleasure of those who wish it; and He often punishes the people for the sins of the rulers, and not without just judgment, since the people are very culpable in bearing the evil operations of their rulers."¹

Commines of course might have copied Villani; he knew some Italian, though not much.² But this in itself would be an example of his borrowing a comment ready-made, instead of thinking it out for himself; and he never mentions Villani, who of course was not a source for his period. On the whole it is greatly more probable that both he and Villani were expressing a traditional idea, possibly even in traditional phraseology, already familiar to the majority of their readers.

Gaguin and Aemilius were very much of their age in this. Here again an instance may be given from Villani. Gaguin having mentioned the frivolous and indecent costume of the French at the time of Crécy, adds that these absurd and continually changing fashions have always been a peculiar vice of the French.³ But Villani in complaining of the

1 *Istorie fiorentine*, Bk. 11, chap. CXXI, ed. P. Massai (*Classici italiani*, 8 vols. Milan 1802-3), vol. VII, p. 248.

2 V. his attempts to speak it during the negotiations at Novara: *Mémoires*, Bk. 8, chap. XVI; vol. III, p. 234.

3 F. LXXIX.V.

corruption of the formerly dignified Florentine costume under French influence, had already observed: "As by nature we vain citizens are disposed to change of fashion and imitation of strangers beyond all other nations, always inclined towards unseemliness and vanity."¹ This disposition was evidently a stock charge of the satirists, each against his own fellow-countrymen.

Again, after following Guillaume de Nangis in a description of the growth of monastic Orders in the reign of Louis VII, Gaguin adds a passage (extensive in terms of his usual brief comment) on the degeneracy of the monks of his own day.² But the same topic had already inspired the same reflections in Antoninus of Florence,³ in whom moreover they are derived almost entirely (with some omissions and verbal alterations, but no additions except part of a sentence in one place, apparently to complete the sense where a lacuna has been created) from the Apologia against the lax monks of Cluny composed by St. Bernard at the request of Guillaume abbot of Saint-Thierry c. 1125,⁴ although this age of St. Bernard was precisely what first Antoninus (in the middle of

1 Istorie, Bk. 12, chap. IV; vol. VIII, p. 14.

2 F. XLVIII.R.

3 Chronica, Pt. II, Tit. 15, chap. XXIII; F. CXLVI.R,V.

4 Chaps. VIII, IX, pars. 16-23 (PLC, vol. CLXXXII, Paris 1879), cols. 908-12.

the XVth century) and x then Gaguin (at the end of it) were setting up as a contrast, in its austere virtues, to modern worldliness and self-indulgence.

In this instance it is not possible to decide with certainty which of his three possible sources Gaguin used. It is improbable that he went back to St. Bernard; the coincidence with Antoninus would have been strange, though not impossible, and he nowhere else appears to make direct use of the writings of the Fathers. That he copied Antoninus is suggested by the placing of the passage. But both may well have been drawing from a common stock of ideas, as in the examples from Villani; though as we know that Gaguin used Antoninus and have no proof as to Villani, the likelihood of direct borrowing is greater here. The question is in any case one of detail; the point being that Gaguin's reflections were in one way or another derivative, not his own.

This tendency is less immediately obvious in Aemilius, partly because these reflective passages are fewer and briefer in the De Rebus Gestis, partly because he was in fact a little less bound by mediaeval attitudes of mind, but chiefly because the Humanist theory of composition demanded that the ideas, like the narrative, of other authors should at least seem to have been assimilated and reappear as the author's own under the disguise of a different wording, however little

their fundamental character was altered. This of course was on purely aesthetic, not intellectual, grounds. Originality as such was little more valued in the early years of the Renaissance than in the Middle Ages.

But there is at least one place where Aemilius has either copied one of these passages from Gaguin or drawn on a common stock. In connection with the tradition that the line of Charlemagne was restored in the person of Louis VIII, Gaguin comments that this is supposed to confer an enhanced prestige on the French kings, "as if disposition and virtue persisted from the founders of a family down to their posterity. But as it is with animals and plants, so it is with the races of men; a weak horse is most often born from a strong, a barren tree from a fruitful one. For Nature produces nothing which does not degenerate from its stock ¹ in process of time". Aemilius has a very similar passage, though placed a little earlier, in dealing with the degeneration of the Carolingians. The progeny of even the greatest men and the noblest geniuses, he says, at last grow torpid; families, like individuals, have their birth, growth and decay.²

Of course, in addition to not feeling the desirability of thinking for themselves, neither Gaguin nor Aemilius were

1 F. LVIII.R.

2 F. LX.V.

in any sense major thinkers, nor do they seem ~~x~~ even to have had the qualities of personality which might to some extent have compensated for this. This can only be said conjecturally, for they naturally do not reveal their characters in their books in the way that a contemporary memorialist can. The form they had chosen was much more impersonal, and they have quite rightly sunk their own individuality so completely in it that we cannot even be sure whether the extreme conventionality which they convey was their genuine character, a policy of discretion, or simply the result of dependence on their sources. We know a little more about Gaguin from his other works. But these, even the letters, are so formal and stylised that they leave no ~~xxxxxxxx~~ natural picture.

But so far as we can gather anything from their treatment of their subject, and in particular from these incidental observations, neither reveals any originality or strength of feeling such as might have given their comments, if not an absolute value, at least an interest in what it told of them and their age. To write a whole history of France in the tone of sustained frenzy of Basin's Historie Ludovici XI or Blondel's De Reductione Normannie would have been not only inappropriate but intolerable. But then even the cynical Commynes, recognising the seal ~~x~~ of the duke of Burgundy sold in Milan after his death for two ducats, murmurs : "He who

took it off was a bad valet to him. I have often seen him dressed and undressed with much reverence by great personages; and in this last hour his honours passed from him";¹ when Matthieu d'Escouchy describes the grief of Talbot's herald on seeing his dead body;² when Monstrelet with generous indignation draws his contrast between Henry V's pomp in Paris and the mournful desertion of the aging and insane Charles VI;³ we feel that the momentary glimpse of suppressed emotion not merely does not detract from the truth or dignity of the history but rather increases them by the enhanced reality which it conveys.

In Gaguin and Aemilius there is nothing of this. They relate the most horrific episodes with no more than a formal word of regret. Gaguin speaks of the "unfortunate" city of Dinan, after its savage sack by Charles the Rash;⁴ but even this frigid understatement is derived from the Chronique Scandaleuse, which puts it considerably more strongly.⁵ Aemilius observes that the stricken battle-field of Tours would have been "pitiful even to the conqueror, if it had

1 ^{Mémoires,} Bk. 5, chap. IX; vol. II, pp. 153-4.

2 Chronique, chap. XCII, ed. du Fresne de Beaucourt (SHF, 3 vols. Paris 1863-4), vol. II, pp. 42-3.

3 Chroniques, Bk. 1, chap. CCXXXIV, ed. L. Douet-d'Arcq (SHF, 6 vols. Paris 1857-62), vol. IV, p. 22.

4 F. CXLV.V.

5 Vol. I, p. 165.

occurred to any other enemy".¹ Gaguin opens Book 11 with some expressions of grief on the death of Charles VIII.² But as we are expecting a touch of individual feeling such as conscience or emotion extorted from Commynes on the same occasion,³ we are put off with some conventional moralising (including a poem) on the fragility of human fortune. ¶ Their comments on character are never anything but stereotyped. It is very rare that their remarks sound as if they even might have been their own, as Gaguin's explanation of the delayed action in politics as well as human bodies which prevented France from feeling its disasters in the XVth century so quickly as might have been expected,⁴ or Aemilius' tart comment that the béguine of Nivelles would have been holy indeed if, a woman in a woman's cause, a subject of the dukes of Brabant whose daughter and sister the queen was, she had not given out as a divine oracle the answer dictated by the duke.⁵ The general level of these asides, whether didactic or merely by way of commentary, seldom rises above the usual commonplaces on women's wiles, the jealousies of stepmothers, the envy inspired by success, the subservience, factiousness

1 F. XXIX.R.

2 F. CLXI.R.

3 Memoires, Bk. 8, chap. XXVII; vol. III, pp. 313-4.

4 F. CXIIII.V.

5 F. ~~XXXX~~ CLVIII.V.

and vices of courtiers, and so forth. No one demands philosophic profundity or warm human emotion in a scientific treatise. But if a writer sets out to give his history a political and moral as well as a scholarly value, he must produce something a little better than these flaccid and solemn platitudes.

3. The XVth Century.

The question posed at the beginning of this study was how much French historiography altered under the influence of Humanist theories at the end of the XVth century.

On the whole it would seem to emerge that the alteration was a good deal less fundamental and less widespread than is commonly implied by the theorists who require a universal or at least a general plan for the Renaissance.¹ Traditional ways of thought and life were very deeply rooted and intimately interwoven with men's outlook and their very existence; and although they were shaken and sometimes strangely distorted by the general disintegration of ideas in the late Middle Ages, and had in fact been basically undermined, they persisted with an extraordinary vitality in a variety of forms, still essentially dominant in the early XVIth century, perceptible

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1 Franco Simone: La Coscienza della Rinascita negli Umanisti francese, chap. IV, 2 (Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, Rome 1949), pp. 94-100.

at least until the XVIIIth, and possibly re-appearing even later as a latent yet operative influence.¹ The Middle Ages in France had been peculiarly organic and successful, and had left a heritage which even the most ardent Humanists could not wholly disown.

They were indeed in a measure of difficulty here. Humanism was involved with the new spirit of nationalism, not so much by force of logic, since it was founded on the supranational Roman civilisation, as by mere coincidence of time, arising as it did simultaneously with the growth of national divisions and national feelings. For the Italians this constituted no problem. Since the days of Petrarch pride and joy in every aspect of the achievements and the glory of the Romans could stir the hearts of their descendants without any reserves. But a French Humanist, if he subscribed to the dictum of a Frenchman of a later age:² "The world is empty since the Romans", was compelled to acknowledge that he had no past; everything native to him was barbarous, and he possessed nothing of value until borrowed from others only a few generations back, and borrowed moreover (climax of indignity) from a nation whose modern representatives he disliked and despised.

1 V. Nathan Edelman: Attitudes of XVIIIth century France toward the Middle Ages (King's Crown Press, New York 1946), for a stimulating and suggestive, if perhaps at times slightly over-stressed, study of this point.

2 Saint-Just.

It is indicative of how shallow and incomplete was the hold taken by Humanism on France that the French Humanists faced by this dilemma, when they could not ignore or evade it, sacrificed their Humanist to their national principles. Even Aemilius, an Italian by birth and upbringing and a genuine Humanist to an extent that few Frenchmen were, in his first draft of the history of Gaul was compelled either by his real feelings as a naturalised Frenchman or by consideration for the views of his prospective public to glorify the Gauls at the expense of the Romans. This tone becomes even more marked in the treatment of the Franks, who remained the special favourites of the XVIth century, as they had been of the XVth.

It was a commonplace of the Humanists, whether ²drived or not from the late-mediaeval sources to which they owed so much, that the Greeks wrote eloquently but were ineffective in action; that the Romans excelled both in writing and in action, but more especially in writing, which sometimes inflated their actions, admittedly great, even beyond their due deserts; while the French (sometimes in their previous character as Gauls or Franks) had never hitherto done their achievements justice in their books, and required only a historian equal in gifts and taste to those of Greece and Rome (a rôle which each of the Humanists in turn aspired to fill) to have their kings and heroes revealed as equal or superior to the greatest

S/ of those of antiquity.¹ Various saying/redounding to the credit of the Gauls or Franks² were freely bandied about and given an amplified or distorted meaning.

Nor were the French Humanists satisfied with setting up the political and military glories of France in rivalry to those of Rome. With their acceptance of the high importance of learning, literature and art, it became necessary for their national self-esteem to maintain that France was pre-eminent in these fields also. A series of controversies on this topic, sometimes extremely acrimonious in tone, had begun as early as the XIVth century when Petrarch exasperated French susceptibilities by his contemptuous remarks³, and was still going forward vigorously in the XVth.⁴

But here of course they became involved in the dilemma already touched upon. Either French intellectual life and reputation were entirely modern, and derived from pagan

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- 1 V. the poem of Badius at the end of the second ed. of the Compendium, the saying of Louis XII cited by Arnoul le Ferron: De Rebus Gestis Gallorum, Bk. 3 (Vascosan, Paris 1550, 8^c), F. IXXVIII.R.
 - 2 The tributes of Caesar and Sallust, the supposed origin of the name of Galatia, etc. etc.
 - 3 V. the angry comments of Gaguin: Compendium, F. III.V.
 - 4 Franco Simone, ut supra, pp. 53-62.

classical culture through the medium of the Italians, which would have been the strict Humanist interpretation, or they belonged to the (so to say) native Christian Frankish tradition of France, in fact precisely to what the thoroughgoing Humanists rejected as most barbarous. Rather surprisingly, some of the French men of letters boldly took the latter line, claimed the French mediaeval thinkers and poets as the equals of those of antiquity, and developed a new chronology of the Dark Ages by which they extended only for the three centuries of the dominance of the Doctrinale and the Graecismus (c. 1200-1500), in place of the Italian Humanist reckoning of eight and a half centuries, from Boethius to Petrarch (c. 500-1350)¹. French Humanism, even in its fullest development, could never induce its disciples wholly to renounce the deep and cherished traditions with which their pride, their loyalties and their feelings were inextricably interwoven. They did not wish to choose; but if they must, they were Frenchmen first and Humanists afterwards.

It has already been observed in dealing with Gaguin how tenacious the old-fashioned techniques of history were. This point may best be illustrated by some further consideration of the three XVth century authors of general histories in

1 Ibid. chap. II, 2; pp. 51-3, for a most interesting account of this important and insufficiently appreciated point.

different styles mentioned as belonging to the same tradition as Gaguin and influenced by him to varying degrees.¹

(a) It is true that Les Illustrations de Gaule et Singularitez de Troye is not a typical French history. Jean le Maire's Flemish sympathies render him a good deal less enthusiastic about the Franks than his theme would seem to dictate, and he has adopted Jacques de Guise's remarkable discovery of yet another Trojan refugee, Baucis, to be the ancestor of the Belgians.²

Indeed it can scarcely be called a regular history at all. There is a certain spurious parade of scholarship; le Maire is scrupulous, even pedantic, in citation of his authorities, and he seems genuinely and interestingly to have consulted monuments and inscriptions as well as written material. But despite this air of being a scientific work, the first two Books (more than three-quarters of the whole) are an openly fictional re-telling of the story of Troy based on Benoît de Sainte-More's Le Roman de Troie, the pseudo-Dares and Dictys,³

1 Pp. 151-7.

2 Ed. J. Stecher (2 vols. Louvain 1882), Bk. 1, chap. I; vol. I, p. 14, and Bk. 3, pt. I; vol. II, pp. 284-5.

3 Possibly only through Benoît. V. M.A. Joly: Benoît de Sainte-More et le Roman de Troie (Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie, vol. VII of Ser. 3, XXVII of the Collection, 1869).

and some classical sources, either directly¹ or through later imitators. Book 3 is supposed to be an account of the descent of the new nations of Europe, in particular the French and Flemings, from their Trojan ancestors down to the time of Charlemagne, in whom was fulfilled the prayer of Helenus that both Troys might be united.² It is entirely what one would expect from the earlier parts, a puerile and uncritical romance, bristling with the most naive fairy tales, anachronisms and blunders of every kind, such as the strange version of the Lohengrin legend, involving Julius Caesar and his brother-in-law Charles Ynach prince of the Cimbri,³ the account of the embassy of Charles Hasbain of Austrasia to Constantinople,⁴ the derivations of place-names, usually from some eponymous conqueror.

However, le Maire, despite his complacent condemnation of the modern authors who had corrupted and debased the glorious history of Troy, from which all the Western princes derived almost all their splendour, and his demand that they should be superseded by "the present ancient and truthful

1 That is of course ~~is~~ in translation in the case of the Greeks.

2 Illustrations, Prologue to Bk. 3.

3 Ibid. Bk. 3, pt. I; vol. II, pp. 320-54.

4 Ibid. pp. 224-8.

narrative"¹, was not really aiming at anything more than giving "the ladies speaking the French tongue" an entertaining book as part of their "gracious and decent pleasures and pastimes"²; and in this ~~purpose~~^{object}, ineffably dull and tedious as the composition appears to us now, he was probably very successful at the time.

In addition, he had a threefold political purpose: to supply for the Austro-Burgundian house as respectable a Trojan pedigree as was claimed by the other European princes; to prove that France and Germany were parts of the same whole, "like sisters by the same parents", both originally included in Gaul and both settled by the Franks,³ and that it was Celtic, not Belgic, Gaul which had seceded from the true "France" when they regrettably became separated after the time of Charlemagne⁴; and finally, following from this, to persuade them to unite again in order to meet the ever-growing Turkish peril. The sincerity and earnestness with which he handles this last theme (so pathetically recurrent in the authors of the XIVth, XVth and XVIth centuries) is manifestly genuine if sometimes rather quaintly expressed; and it forms the only

1 Ibid. Prologue; vol. I, p. 8.

2 Ibid. Bk. 1, chap. I; vol. I, p. 11.

3 Ibid. Bk. 3. Pt. I; vol. II, p. 272.

4 Ibid. Pt. III; vol. II, pp. 469-73.

attractive feature of a quite peculiarly worthless composition.

Le Maire became official historiographer to the queen, and in the Eulogy by Quentin of Auton on the Annales d'Aquitaine of Jean Bouchet he is coupled with Bouchet as one of the two modern French historians of eminence and described as distinguished by eloquence, care, and "that remarkable reliability which is the soul of history". The only interest now offered by the Illustrations, even to historiography as opposed to history, is from their revelation of the naively unhistoric attitude of the early XVIth century in France, when a writer of this education and standing could treat Dares and Dictys on the one hand and Ovid on the other as serious ~~new~~ sources and mythologies as facts, and devote a work of this length and pretentiousness to a reasoned justification of the Trojan legend.

(b) If criticism of the Illustrations is to some extent forestalled by its abnormal purpose, this is not the case with the straightforward and conventional Epitoma Universalis Historie of the ~~frs~~ Savoyard Celestin Minorite Jean le Jars and Hubert du Vellay. It begins not ~~only~~ ^{even} with the beginning of the world but with the nature of God and the angels, to which it devotes three chapters before so much as reaching the Creation. Book 1 of 81 chapters goes down to the birth

of Christ. Book 2 of 95 chapters only reaches Innocent I and Arcadius and Honorius. Book 3 expends 100 chapters before conclusion of the reign of Charlemagne, and disposes of the rest of world history until the death of Charles VIII in another 139.

The execution is entirely in harmony with this structure. The disconnected composition of the book makes it difficult to distinguish the elements from which it has been tacked together. The early XVth century is at the time spoken of in the present tense, with the supporters of Benedict XIII still persisting under the favour of Armagnac,¹ the Hussite heresy dominant in Bohemia, and Martin V and Henry VI still alive.² Some events of this time are described as if seen by ~~xxx~~ an eye-witness, such as John XXIII setting off from Bologna for the Council of Constance;³ but this of course was a trap into which mediaeval and even XVth century writers fell very easily when absent-mindedly copying from an earlier source. Both Bouchet and the continuator of Nicole Gilles speak of being themselves present at the funeral of Charles VIII. They may have been; but all probability seems in favour of their

1 Bk. 3; chap. CCLXVIII (Jehan Kerver and Edmond le Fevre, [Paris 1521?]), F. CLXXVIII.V. Note in margin: "Nescio si auctor huius libri erat tunc temporis."

2 Ibid. chap. CCLXIX; Ff. CLXXVIII.V, CLXXXI.V.

3 Ibid. chap. CCLXVIII; F. CLXXVIII.R.

having both repeated the statement of Gaguin, whom the latter cites explicitly for his description.

In any case, from whatever period its components date, the book was edited by le Jars in the XVith century, and one would have expected him to make some effort to reduce them to sense and reason. But he does not show the most elementary critical capacity, either in weighing and cross-checking his sources or in applying any canons of ordinary probability. The book swarms with the grossest blunders, even in dealing with contemporary French affairs; and not only the confusing system of parallel chronicling of popes and emperors but the author's own complete confusion of mind lead him continually into repetitions, incoherences and inconsistencies.

(c) In the case of Jean Bouchet this mediaeval character is striking from a different point of view. In le Jars it is its sheer intensity which startles; otherwise it is entirely in harmony with a complete and consistent personality, though not with the conventional view of the mid-XVith century. In Bouchet it is greatly less in quantity; the surprise is to find it at all in some one who superficially, and in certain respects in fact, was far more nearly typical of the new age. Bouchet was a layman and a lawyer, a scholar, poet (of a sort) and man of letters; he had antiquarian interests, even if chiefly ecclesiastical in scope, consulting documents and monuments

such as the remnants of the walls of Old Poitiers, which those living nearby told him could still be found by excavation,¹ and the tombs on the site of the battle of Vouillé.²

In addition to these general Humanist characteristics, the Annales d'Aquitaine has³ an interest of ~~its~~^{its} own in the originality of the plan. They were not intended as the old-fashioned universal chronicle, but as a history of the province of Aquitaine, with the affairs of France and the rest of the world in so far as they might be relevant to it. This intention is not preserved throughout. Aquitaine, which at first fills the stage centrally and indeed almost exclusively, gradually falls into the background, and by the XVth century the book has become a straightforward general chronicle with Aquitaine of no more special importance than the native or otherwise familiar province of many writers of the period. Bouchet himself was uneasily aware that he was not quite carrying out his promises. After a long digression on the rise of Protestantism, he adds that he has included these things, "although they do not concern the affairs ~~of~~ of Aquitaine", so that its inhabitants, not yet infected (thanks be to God!) by the poison of the damnable Lutheran heresy,³ should learn to regard it

1 Pt. 1, chap. IV, ed. A. Mounin (Poitiers 1644), p. 12.

2 Ibid. Pt. 2, chap. II; p. 64.

3 Cf. the almost identical wording in respect of Brittany of the continuator of Alain Bouchart's Grandes Chroniques de Bretagne, p. 304.V.

with the horror which it deserved and pray to God to grant them the grace never to fall into it.¹

Yet even in this incomplete form it was an interesting experiment. The local preoccupation gives a central pivot to the ~~historical~~ composition and a sense of reality to the narrative; and these are virtues so rare in a book of this kind that they are well purchased at the cost a slight parochialism of tone which was observed even by Bouchet's contemporaries. The "publican"² Jean de la Haye says that though he worked very hard and made useful researches into the truth in some respects, "nevertheless, being procureur^{ur} of Poitiers, he speaks willingly only of those in his charge, and seems to be always a partisan in his book."³

Above all, the Annales d'Aquitaine has a quality which can ill be spared from any work, whether scientific or literary, and yet which is often deplorably lacking from both mediaeval and Humanist histories. It is interesting. Long as it is, it is possible to read it through without flagging before page

1 Annales d'Aquitaine, Pt. 4, chap. XII; p. 462.

2 This was the nickname given to the Catholic politiques who toyed politically with the Huguenots, because they professed to deal with the threat of Protestantism by a public reformation of the Church, without novelties.

3 Mémoires et Recherches de France et de la Gaule Aquitanique (composed in 1575), chap. II; printed at end of Mounin's ed. of the Annales d'Aquitaine (Poitiers 1644), p. 4.

after page of unrelated facts, rhetorical edification, metaphysical disquisition, or inflated and empty oratory. Bouchet had a notion of what to tell and how to tell it; and somehow beneath the mingled naivety and affectation so characteristic of the later Middle Ages, he had a vitality and imaginative realisation of his theme which makes it alive and real to us also and holds our attention to the end.

But it will be observed that only a portion of these characteristics are peculiarly Humanist. What Bouchet was really doing was continuing the hybrid late-mediaeval tradition of Nicole Gilles, with its feeling for a picturesque narrative, its conscientious if inartistic citation of sources and documents in the middle of the text, its curious oscillation between the critical and the credulous. It is significant in this connection that he should have chosen to use the vernacular, much more characteristic of this style than of either the full Middle Ages or Humanism, and also that the form which he gives the vernacular is that of the XVth century rhétoriciens.

The Annales d'Aquitaine is certainly a more sophisticated application of the same principles as the Annales de France. Bouchet was living half a century later than Gilles, and was not uninfluenced by the general intellectual advance of the period, as well as more directly by the rather superficial

tincture of Humanism which he had assumed; and moreover he seems to have taken a more serious and conscientious view of his work. Gilles was frankly and unashamedly a populariser; Bouchet was (or liked to suppose himself) a responsible historian. Gilles was writing for the general reading public; Bouchet aimed at a highbrow audience, and thus was bound to show them more respect. It was not enough for him, as it had been for Gilles, to tell a story because it was a good story. He had to satisfy his readers, and we ~~and~~ may say his own intellectual conscience also, that it was true or probable.

The method by which he set about establishing this was in many ways admirable. He had in great measure escaped from the mediaeval assumption that the Word was the Word, by whomever written. Sources are of different authority for him; he weighs and compares, and the canons by which he estimates them are often sound and intelligent. For the earliest period, like even the more complete Humanists, he cannot avoid the fabulous, as when he tells of the origin and name of the Poitevins,¹ their conversion to Christianity,² the lives of St. Hilaire and the early saints in general,³ the biography and

1 Annales d'Aquitaine, Pt. 1, chaps. I⁴III, and particularly II (legends of Hercules and the Scythians).

2 Ibid. chap. IV.

3 Ibid. particularly chaps. IV, V.

tenets of Mahomet,¹ and so on. But otherwise the Annales is not disfigured by much that is grossly absurd. Bouchet was aware that error could creep into early records, even those sanctioned by the Church, as in that of the finding of the True Cross,² and that events true in themselves may become denaturalised by being handed down in popular tradition. He speaks of the Chansons de geste as "imaginary affairs, created at pleasure for the pastime of gentlemen",³ though he makes an interesting and perceptive if perhaps slightly dangerous suggestion that such oral tradition may on occasion be more trustworthy than written history: "For paper or parchment bears everything; and it is to be presumed that if the things known by common report were not true, the report would not have continued so long."⁴ He sometimes also employs the very proper argument that those whose version he is rejecting adduce no testimony.

Yet this apparently rational approach was insecurely superimposed on an essentially mediaeval mind and attitude, and it cracks whenever much strain is imposed upon it. In connection with the house of Lusignan, he reverts to the

1 Ibid. Ft. 2, chap. IV; pp.79-80.

2 Ibid. Ft. 1, chap. V; pp. 17-8.

3 Ibid. Ft. 2, chap. VII; p. 98.

4 Ibid. Ft. 1, chap.XIII; p.42.

topic of the gradual transformation of history into romance; and after a long and excellent passage, well-reasoned, sound and thoughtful, ~~and~~ and full of interest for the historian of literature as well as the historiographer, he concludes by rejecting the tale of Melusine being a serpent and the "other superstitions". But he then adds that she may very well have been a magician: "For at this time people made much use of this diabolical art, especially the daughters of princes!"¹

He does not stress the supernatural, especially in dealing with the contemporary scene; but that an event should be supernatural did not in itself constitute an obstacle to his belief in it, if it was vouched by authority which he regarded as trustworthy. When this occurs, his lack of wider experience and judgment by which to view and consider things as a whole leaves him with little defence against error and absurdity.

Even his qualities could thus turn into dangers; for once he has satisfied ^{himself} of the general nature of a source he falls very easily into acceptance of it as a whole. If it is contemporary or official or satisfactory for some other similar reason (usually sound enough in itself), he cannot check it by questioning the genuineness of the document or by estimating in what respects it might be deceptive while being

1 Ibid. Pt. 3, chap. V; p. 152.

reliable in others. His defence of Turpin against the strictures of Gaguin, already referred to, is a good example of the topsy-turvy result which could be produced by this application of an excellent method to assumptions fundamentally invalid.

It is true that Bouchet hints some scepticism as to the existence of Berossius of Babylon;¹ but Berossius was in no sense sacrosanct. Having included the legend of the fictitious anti-pope Leo, he observes with characteristic candour and conscientiousness that the "ancient and approved histories" mention no pope of this name at the time. But he then adds a list of names, suggesting (i) that Leo had some other name, and (ii) that he was not included in the catalogue of the popes, a theory confirmed, he says, by comparative chronology showing that there was no recorded pope this year; and he clenches the whole question by pointing out that the miracle is not only contained in the legend of St. Hilaire, "approved by the Church", but attested by his disciple St. Just in a charter signed by his hand and cited by bishop Hildebrand at the Council of Tours.²

Similarly, although nationalist and royalist in sentiment (or at least in expression), he was not bigotted in either to

1 Ibid. Pt. 1, chap. I; p. 2.

2 Ibid. Pt. 1, chap. X; p. 35.

the extent of the XVith century official historians. A lingering remnant of the chivalrous tradition occasionally compels him to pay tribute to an individual act of gallantry or magnanimity on the part of an enemy.¹ He is a Gallican, with uncivil things to say about Boniface VIII² and Urban VI.³ But this is a note x frequently struck by French historians from an early date, and no fresh discovery of the partisans of the New Monarchy in the XVith century. Bouchet is not only narrowly orthodox as to religious affairs of his own day, treating very bitterly and uncharitably of the Protestants; he writes throughout in the tone of a churchman to an extent which would be startling for a writer of his education and environment if we insist that by the middle of the XVith century every man of letters must be a secular-minded rhetorician.

Of course none of these authors could be wholly untouched by the spirit of the new age. In Bouchet it is quite perceptible; and indeed he is instanced because his lingering mediaeval characteristics are striking and suggestive in an author who presents himself with the general appearance of a

1 Ibid. Pt. 4, chap. XII; p. 646: "Praiseworthy war, in which each tried to conquer his adversary in all honour and graciousness!" (the exchange of courtesies between Alva and Montmorency).

2 Ibid. Pt. 4, chap. II; pp. 180-1.

3 Ibid. Pt. 4, chap. VI; p. 222.

Humanist. Jean le Maire, with all the mediaeval junk cluttering his book, has made some effort to go behind it to classical texts. And even le Jars shows an interest in classical history, philosophy, literature and anecdote different in degree though not perhaps in kind from what ~~we~~ would be found in a true mediaeval author of the same ^{type} ~~kind~~. But in general these early XVth century French chronicles reveal themselves as preserving to a varying but always appreciable and sometimes ~~times~~ startling extent the continuity of the mediaeval tradition, either in its pure form or at least in the transitional stage of the XVth century.

It was in ~~in~~ its deeper and subtler shape as a social, moral and intellectual phenomenon, rather than in its more obvious artistic and literary aspect, that the Renaissance penetrated into France; and this to some extent explains its slight effect on historical compositions. In so far as French historiography was influenced by it, it was in the main indirectly, not so much in the form in which history was written as in the light in which it was regarded. Men were different in the XVth century from what they were in the XVth, and they therefore wrote different books, rather than because they thought as a matter of aesthetic principle that they ought to be written differently. Not that any hard and fast dividing line can be drawn; the Renaissance grew out of

the later Middle Ages and never wholly lost its affinity with them. But a general process was taking place, rather more rapidly and perceptibly than at most periods in history, through which by the end of the XVth century the world and men's thoughts and feelings were not the same as they had been at the end of the XIVth.

History, the record of humanity, naturally was affected by and mirrored this transformation. Two instances may be used to illustrate this, one a semi-official, the other a wholly unofficial, memorialist.

Jean d'Auton, a Benedictine monk probably of Poitevin origin, called himself historiographer royal and in fact may have enjoyed some measure of royal patronage for the later parts of his Chroniques de Louis XII. This title of Chronicles is significant and fully justified. There is no evidence of Humanist influence in the composition, which is a perfectly regular development out of the XIVth and XVth century contemporary annals. The arrangement is year by year, without reference to subject, and the emphasis on what has been told by reliable witnesses or seen by the author himself; d'Auton frequently refers to having been present in person "looking out for news", and on the occasion of the secret conferences at Savona speaks of being "near the door", though he did not

manage to hear anything.¹ There is less appeal to written sources, though a few documents are inserted verbatim. For the later part d'Auton was in close attendance on the court and camp, and his account is very full. An excess of space is devoted, after the style of Desrey and Octovien de Saint-Gelais, to minute descriptions of tournaments, entries, and other ceremonial occasions, and some of the ~~xxx~~ details which he preserves are trifling, but many are vivid and engaging, and all have the value of authenticity.

The Prologues and incidental observations show a conception of historiography derived from Froissart, Monstrelet and the like, with its familiar theme of the importance of recording high deeds for posterity as an encouragement to valour. D'Auton's name is often coupled with those of the Burgundian semi-official chroniclers, and his work is closely akin to theirs in its general tone and in the diffuse formlessness²

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- 1 Chroniques de Louis XII, 1506, chap. XXXVIII, ed. de Maulde la Clavière (SHF, 4 vols. Paris 1889), vol. IV, p. 384.
 - 2 V. particularly 1506, chaps. XLIV-XLVI; vol. IV, pp. 389-413, for the account of some privateering exploits and a peculiarly pointless fairy tale, tacked on to the end of the book with no relevance at all.

which can include anything from the "incidents" of the mediaeval history (under this very name, and specifically "only to diversify the work and amuse the reader"¹) to poetry of his own in the most inflated style of the rhétoriciens. There is a mass of classical quotations and allusions, but chiefly of the conventional kind current even in the Middle Ages. Most of d'Auton's incidental reflections and judgments are still essentially mediaeval. He is naive and credulous, recording astrological phenomena and supernatural anecdotes with no hint of scepticism, except for a certain emphasis on the directness of his testimony to them, which perhaps suggests rather some suspicion of scepticism on the part of his readers.

In one way however he does show signs of the new age, in personality rather than in literary theory or practice. The book has a note of expansiveness, of zest for adventure, of exultation in man's capacities, which is not at all mediaeval. Although the history, and still more the poetry, is thick with references to the power of Fortune, a note of defiance sometimes creeps in, a claim that the true man shapes his own fate, which would have frightened the Middle Ages and is more akin on the one hand to classical Stoicism and on the other to the age of

1 Ibid. 1503, chap. XII; vol. III, pp. 219-20.

Marlowe's Tamburlaine:

I hold the Fates bound fast in iron chains,¹
And with my hand turn Fortune's wheel about.

D'Auton is in no sense monkish. There is not much edification; and although he was obviously most sincerely pious, there is a touch of wistfulness in his phrase about serving his country with his pen since he may not with the sword.² From this aspect the book links up with the Jouvencel and the Loyal Serviteur in the military passages with their gay gallantry and comradeship and the manly patriotism which never denies generous tribute to an enemy;³ discreet though they are, d'Auton's sympathy and respect for the Pisans are pronounced and consistent throughout,⁴ and these passages rise above the usual flat level of the narrative and are truly moving. D'Auton indeed, while keeping his own personality self-effacingly in the background, gives the impression of a simple and candid disposition, which while for the most part taking the brutalities and horrors of his age for

1 Act 1, Scene II.

2 Chroniques de Louis XII, Preface to Conquete de Milan, vol. I, p. 2.

3 V. particularly Chronique de France, 1502, chaps. XI, XII; vol. II, pp. 286-95, for the charming story of Peralta, which is in the best chivalrous vein from beginning to end.

4 V. particularly Chronique du Roy Louis XII, chaps. XLIV, XLV; vol. I, pp. 302-12#.

granted, was not without capacities for humanity and right feeling.¹

Thus while nothing could be more old-fashioned than the form of the Chroniques de Louis XII, the underlying spirit is already modern to a rudimentary yet perceptible extent. We have in fact here the exact reversal of what the situation was~~x~~ in the case of Bouchet. In reading the two books, it is ~~it~~ difficult to remember that Bouchet was not a churchman, and that d'Auton was. Bouchet was a mediaeval personality trying to adopt a Humanist style; d'Auton was a Renaissance personality still (owing perhaps partly to his quasi-official position) following the form of the XVth century contemporary chronicle.

D'Auton is interesting because he reflects what was still apparently regarded as the orthodox way of writing formal history in the early years of the XVth century. The second example, on the other hand, is interesting precisely because it was so spontaneous and informal an indication of the attitude to life of the ordinary man as revealed in history.

Brantome had none of the exceptional qualities of mind or disposition which make us feel an author outside and ahead of his age. He was conventional, insensitive, and full of the most naive and narrow-minded prejudices. And yet, simply

1 Ibid. chaps. XI, XIII; vol. I, pp. 158, 170.

because he lived in a different age, many of his reactions, particularly the more instinctive, where he does not pause to consider what they ought to be, strike us as unmistakably more modern than those of a far higher moral and intellectual character in the previous century, as for example his attitude towards Mahometans and Protestants, where although he has absolutely no theoretical sympathy with either, he distinguishes clearly between belief and character¹ and between the judgment of the Christian upon infidels and heretics and the obligations of honour² and humanity³ as between man and man. There is a new note too in the interest in literary affairs⁴ and a rather sentimental antiquarianism⁵, and in the quaint and touching tenderness towards animals.⁶

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- 1 Oeuvres, ed. L.J. Monmerqué (8 vols. Paris 1822-3), vol. I, p. 232, vol. III, pp. 406-7, vol. IV, pp. 120-1, 181-2, 198 (tributes to individual Turks): vol. II, pp. 272-3, vol. III, pp. 274-304, 332, vol. IV, pp. 57-8, 378-88, 519 (to Huguenots).
 - 2 Ibid. vol. I, pp. 280-1, vol. II, pp. 388, 453, vol. IV, pp. 207-8, vol. V, p. 309.
 - 3 Ibid. vol. I, p. 232, vol. III, pp. 184, 283-4, 457-9, vol. IV, pp. 201-6.
 - 4 Ibid. vol. II, pp. 362-5.
 - 5 Ibid. vol. III, pp. 369-72.
 - 6 Ibid. vol. II, pp. 307-8, vol. III, p. 172, vol. IV, pp. 314-5.

Thus because the influence upon French historiography in the XVth century was more that of the generally diffused Renaissance spirit than of strict Humanist literary form, it appears most in the branches of the subject most directly connected with men and life, that is in the contemporary memoirs. These show us something of the ~~xxxx~~ daily scene of the times and of the nature of the author, and it is here that we feel a difference in tone between the XVth century memorialists and even so alert and independent a product of the XVth century as Philippe de Commines. Naturally, the narrower and more personal the scope of these reminiscences, the more clearly this emerges; ~~and~~ and it is most pronounced in the autobiographies, or biographies by their domestics, ~~or~~ of military men like Bayard, Guillaume de Villeneuve, Fleuranges, the du Bellays and Monluc.

This style had begun in the XVth century with the Life of Boucicaut and the part-fictional, part-didactic Jouvencel. But it waited for the XVth century, with the full transformation of the knight into the professional soldier, to reach its characteristic development. These records often have much historic value once we have observed the peculiar viewpoint of the author, the political or personal opinion which he wishes to insinuate, and some have real merit and charm as narratives. But their special value is the true because unconscious testimony they bear to the mental and moral background of their age.

It is obvious that an influence thus largely indirect would not operate so soon or so forcibly upon the composition of formal history, the conscious evocation of the remote past. Not only can the scene itself tell us nothing about the author's own age; he will not even react and express himself so naturally in treating of what has no immediate meaning for him, but will tend (especially if a mediaeval or Renaissance historian) to copy the words, the judgments, even the attitudes, of his predecessors. It is a subtle and difficult task to deduce anything about the late Middle Ages and Renaissance from what a XVth or XVIth century historian writes about Clovis or St. Louis.

It is not of course that nothing at all happened. Vocal literary opinion endorsed the Humanist theories, and there was apparently a general tacit acceptance of this ruling. But it seems clear that much of this remained always on the surface, and was not perhaps even put into practice so much as the Humanists boasted at the time or their critics later deplored. Books completely in the old style were still produced and presumably read throughout the XVIth century. Much history, as well as other serious literature, was written in Latin. But quite apart from the fact that this was by no means an exclusively Humanist practice, it was often a purely mechanical and temporary concession to the prevalent fashion. Le Ferron and the other continuators of Aemilius wrote in Latin, but a translation was

soon made. Guillaume du Bellay wrote the first draft of his Ogdoades in Latin, but his brother Martin translated it before it was published, and even the artificiality of the original form would not have altered or disguised the essential character of the book, which is a straightforward personal memoir where it is not a political pamphlet pleading the cause of France against the Emperor, never a conscious piece of rhetorical literary composition.



Thus the influence of Humanism on the development of French historiography at the turn of the XVth and XVIth centuries took effect in two different ways.

In the first place, rhetorical doctrine caused a distinct but moderate change in the form and style of regular history. This enjoyed only a short period of fashion. It was then overlaid by the stormy conditions of religious revolution and strife, and re-emerged in the Grand Siècle still recognisable but in a profoundly altered shape, in which it exercised an ossifying force upon French history until the beginning of the XIXth century.

Secondly, the vague affair which we unsatisfactorily call "the spirit of the Renaissance", by altering the climate of society and thought in France as elsewhere, indirectly altered the character of contemporary memoirs by altering their content, since the memorialists not only record different scenes but unconsciously record them differently because of their own

different eyes and mental processes. This change, though less striking than the other, was permanent, because it was a spontaneous growth from the nature of things, not something imposed from outside. Contemporary memoirs had been the most vital and vigorous style surviving in France in the late XVth century, and they proved this by the healthy adaptability with which they continued in a new age, altering in substance with scarcely any perceptible alteration of form.

The first of these changes was superficial, the second was latent; both, though definite, were incomplete. The influence of Humanism on French historiography was never ~~xxx~~ immense; and it was greatest and most enduring on that branch of the subject which was least entitled to the strict name of history at all.

APPENDIX.

I. Probable Editions of the Compendium.

1. Editions in Gaguin's Lifetime.

- A. Pierre Iedru, Paris 1499 ¹[1495] . Fo.
B. Johannes Trechsel, Lyon 8 calend. julii 1497. Fo.
C. Andreas Bochard. at expense of Durand Gerlier,
Paris 2 cal. Aprilis 1497 [1498?]. Fo.
D. [Georg Wolff and] Thielmann Kerver, for D. Gerlier
and Jean Petit, Paris idus januarias 1500 [1501] . Fo.
¹D. Re-issue of D, probably 1501. Fo.

2. Posthumous Editions.

- ²D. Re-issue of D 1504. Fo. E. Paris 1507. 8.^o
F. ~~Andronicus~~ ^{Jean} Petit, Paris 1511. 8.^o G. Paris 1514. 8.^o
H. Paris 1521. 8.^o I. Paris 1522. 8.^o J. Lyon 1524. Fo.
K. Paris 1528. 8.^o L. 1554. Fo. M. Andreas Wechelus,
Frankfurt-am-Main 1577. Fo. With continuation by ~~Pierre~~ ^{Hubert}
du Vellay. N. Paris 1582. Fo. O. Douai 1586. 8.^o With
Appendix by Jacques Bourgeois.

3. Translations and Continuations.

- P. By Pierre Desrey. Paris [1515?] . Fo.
Q. La Mer des Croniques. Paris 1527. Fo. Reprints:
²Q. Paris 1530. Fo. ²Q. Paris 1536. Fo. ³Q. Paris 1538. 4.^o

II. Probable Editions of the De Rebus Gestis.

1. Incomplete editions, published in lifetime of Aemilius.

- A.¹ Paris s.a. [1517?] . Fo. 4 Bks.
A.² Josse Badius, Paris s.a. Fo. 6 Bks.
A.³ Josse Badius, s.l. & a. [1520?] . Fo. 7 Bks.
A.⁴ Josse Badius, s.l. & a. Fo. 9 Bks.

2. Posthumous editions.

- B. Vascosan, Paris 1539. Fo. 10 Bks. and du Tillet.
Reprints: B.¹ 1544 (with du Tillet of 1543). B.² 1548.
C. A. Parvus, Paris 1548/9. 8^o. 2 parts. Du Tillet and
4 Bks. of le Ferron.
D. Vascosan, Paris 1550. Fo. Du Tillet and le Ferron's
9 Bks. Reprints: D.¹ 1550. 2 vols. 8^o. D.² 1560. Fo.
D.³ 1565/6. Fo. D.⁴ 1576/7. Fo.
E. Sixtus Henricpetri, Basel 1569. Fo. Du Tillet, le
Ferron and Freigius.
F. Paris 1592. Fo. [?]
G. Frankfurt 1596. Fo. [?]
H. F. Morel, Paris 1598. Fo.
I. Sebastian Henricpetri, Basel March 1601 [1602?] . Fo.
2 vols. Du Tillet, le Ferron and Jacob Henricpetri.

3. Translations.

(1) French.

- J. By J. Renart, 5 Bks. M. Fezandet, Paris 1553. Fo.
Reprints: J.¹ 1556/7. Fo. J.² 1573/4. Fo.

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K. By S. des Monstiers, 2 Bks. Vascosan, Paris 1556. ^{4°} ~~2°~~.

L. By J. Renart, 10 Bks and le Ferron. F. Morel, Paris 1581. Fo.

M. Robert Fouet, Paris 1597/8. Fo.

N. F. Morel, Paris 1602. Reprints: N.¹ 1609. N.² 1643.

(ii) Italian.

O. S.l. 1515. 4°.

P. Michael Tramezino, Venice 1549. 4°.

(iii) German.

Q. By J.T Fren. Basel 1572. Fo.

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ABBREVIATIONS.

Series of Publications.

- CMF: Collection des Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de France, ed. Michaud et Poujalat.
- DHF: Documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, ed. Guizot.
- MHG: Monumenta Germaniae Historica.
- PLC: Patrologiae [Latinae] Cursus Completus, ed. Migne.
- RHGF: Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France, ed. Bouquet.
- RIS: Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, ed. Muratori.
- RS: Rolls Series.
- SHF: Société de l'Histoire de France.
- SRG: Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum.

Periodicals.

- BEC: Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes.
- BSHF: Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France.
- JS: Journal des Savants.
- MAIB: Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.
- RH: Revue Historique.

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